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ANDREW DEAN

THE CROWN AND THE NOBILITY:  
THE MOLINIST IDEOLOGY OF *CRÓNICA DE CASTILLA*'S  
PORTRAYAL OF THE REIGN OF ALFONSO VIII

The anonymous *Crónica de Castilla* (c. 1300) was written at a time of political instability, when tensions between vying factions of the nobility of the Kingdom of Castile and the Queen Regent, María de Molina, erupted into civil war. Pretenders to the throne threatened her Regency and called into question the legitimacy of her son, Fernando IV. The *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative of the reign of Alfonso VIII of Castile (another reign which began with a turbulent interregnum) contains large sections which relate to the nobility, leading some scholars to believe that the *Crónica de Castilla* represents a branch of post-Alfonsine historiography emanating from the aristocracy and that the text is based on a lost *\*Estoria nobiliaria*. Others argue that it is an example of Molinist literature, patronised by the Regent in order to assert her control over the nobility. I shall demonstrate how important aspects of the Molinist ideology are present in the *Crónica de Castilla*, including: the idealisation of the King-nobility relationship; the promotion of an emerging social group, the *concejos*, whose influence grew during María de Molina's Regency; the diffusion of a hybrid chivalric code which was intended to act as a guide for influencing the nobility's behaviour; the creation of a new image of royal women, based on spirituality; the dissemination of the royal lineage of Maria de Molina and her son that can be traced back to Leonor Plantagenet. Episodes which relate to the nobility during the minority of Alfonso VIII and episodes which relate to great Iberian queens are tools which are combined in the *Crónica de Castilla* in order to promote this Molinist ideology throughout medieval Spain, providing a strong theory that Maria de Molina was a patron of this text.

THE CROWN AND THE NOBILITY:  
THE MOLINIST IDEOLOGY OF *CRÓNICA DE CASTILLA*'S  
PORTRAYAL OF THE REIGN OF ALFONSO VIII

ANDREW DEAN

SUBMITTED FOR EXAMINATION OF MASTER OF ARTS

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2020

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In fond memory of Mark Ferguson, whose sense of fun and curiosity will be missed but never forgotten.

# INTRODUCTION

The reign of Alfonso VIII of Castile is one of the longest and most studied of the Middle Ages. King of Castile and Toledo between 1158 and 1214, and known as *el Bueno* or *el de Las Navas*, Alfonso VIII is best remembered for the part he played in the Spanish *Reconquista*, particularly his victory at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, and the Castilian hegemony over Leon for the first time in the Kingdom's history. This 56-year period has been described in detail in many medieval historiographical texts, including the *Crónica de Castilla*, an anonymous chronicle which dates from around 1300, during the reign of Fernando IV (1295-1312). Both Fernando IV and Alfonso VIII's reigns began with regencies, during which there were rising tensions among the ranks of the aristocracy, and both consisted of a period of intense political conflict between the crown and the nobility. This parallel allows the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* to present a version of history which would have been relevant to a contemporary readership and which reflects its patron's political agenda.

## 1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

### 1.1. THE CONTEXT OF THE REIGN OF ALFONSO VIII

The reign of Alfonso VIII has been the object of study of several scholars, most notably in Julio González' seminal work of three volumes (1960) which, as well as providing a detailed study of the Kingdom of Castile during Alfonso's reign (vol. I), also provides a comprehensive collection of diplomas and charters emanating from the Royal Chancellery (vols II and III). In addition, Gonzalo Martínez Díez's monograph on the figure of Alfonso VIII has more recently provided a more concise and accessible analysis of the King's reign but, as Rodríguez Peña points out, does not apport any new details of his reign (2016: 27). Martínez Díez's monograph tends to focus, as its title suggests, on the figure of the King rather than on the wider aspects of medieval Iberian society and politics, such as the institutions of the Church and the nobility, which González does discuss in detail. In addition to the studies by Estepa Díaz et al. (2011), Álvarez Borge (2008) and López Ojeda (2013) which are all referenced by Rodríguez Peña (2016: 27-28), the *Regesta de Fernando II* (González 1943), a collection of documents pertaining to the Kingdom of León during the reign of Fernando II of León, has also provided a useful insight into Leonese politics of the time. Furthermore, a recently published collection

of essays based on the reign of Alfonso VIII and edited by Gómez et al. (2019), provides novel insights into the political, economic and religious aspects of Alfonso's reign. Several scholars have sought to structure the reign of Alfonso VIII. In their comparison of Alfonso's life to a hagiographical *vita*, Arizaleta and Jean-Marie (2006) describe the period as a structural entity, comprising an episode of moral fall and divine punishment throughout the story of penitence and concludes with the sinner's redemption and reward centred in the victory at Las Navas (8). Rodríguez Peña describes the reign of Alfonso VIII as being divided into three aspects: a long period of minority and internal conflicts in the Kingdom; a period of conflict and expansion; and a period of internal affirmation and cultural achievements (2016: 28) but in his contextualisation of Alfonso VIII's reign, he fails to examine in detail the time before his ascension to the throne on coming of age – an important aspect of understanding the politics of his 56-year reign.

Before examining the reign of Alfonso VIII, it is first necessary to provide an overview of the politics which shaped the Iberian Peninsula leading up to it. The kingdom of Castile-León, divided by Fernando I *el Magno* among his sons upon his death in December 1065, was unified on the assassination of Sancho II when his brother, Alfonso VI, assumed power over León in addition to Castile. This period of history has been studied in detail by Bernard Reilly (1988), who argues that there had previously been a gap in the scholarship of the Iberian Peninsula during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. During the reign of Alfonso VI and his daughter Urraca, the Kingdom of Castile-León led the *Reconquista* against the Muslim occupiers of the South. Perhaps the most significant event of the Reconquest was the recapture of Toledo, which took place between 1082 and 1086 (see Reilly 1988: 161-184), and led to the Kingdom's hegemony over the other Christian kingdoms. Toledo was the former capital of the Spanish Visigoth Empire and was a significant political symbol of power. The neo-gothic tradition of assuming legitimacy and power by forging links to the former Kingdom of Asturias – the last remnant of the prestigious empire - has been widely discussed (see Menéndez Pidal 1950 a and b, Martin 2012, Bartolomé Bellón 2014 and Drews 2017). Indeed, Linage Conde describes how Alfonso VI used an imperial agenda to demonstrate his supremacy over the other Christian kingdoms on the Peninsula (2006: 57). This imperial agenda continued during the reign of Urraca but was most prominent when, in 1135, Alfonso VII was crowned *Imperator totius Hispaniae*. On his death, as Iturmendi Morales describes (1972: 83), the idea of a Leonese Empire disappeared. Once again, and for the last time, the kingdoms of León and Castile were divided among the Emperor's sons. Fernando II inherited León, while his



primogenit, Sancho III, was given Castile. The reign of Sancho III was a short-lived one. He inherited the throne on 21 August 1157 and died just over a year later, on 31 August 1158, leaving his three-year-old son, Alfonso VIII, as his successor.

The minority of Alfonso VIII (1158-1170) saw bitter conflict between rival aristocratic clans, particularly the Lara and Castro families, who battled for political power, control over the Kingdom and the tutorship of the King. In addition, as Ruiz describes, Alfonso VIII's uncles Fernando II of Leon (1158-1198) and Sancho IV of Navarre (1150-1194), 'also saw their nephew's minority as a golden opportunity to claim Castilian lands on the frontiers of their respective kingdoms' (2019: 2). On his coming of age at fourteen years old, Alfonso married Leonor Plantagenet (1160-1214), daughter of Henry II of England (1154-1189), and began consolidating the Kingdom of Castile, entering into conflicts with the other Christian kingdoms in the north of Spain, as well as their Muslim enemies in the South. These conflicts were a direct consequence of what Rodríguez Peña describes as a long and turbulent minority during which Castile had suffered several territorial losses to the Leonese and Navarrese alike (2016: 29). Two battles against the Muslims provide the military legacy for Alfonso VIII: his defeat at Alarcos in 1195 and his great victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. The reign of Alfonso VIII was also a landmark in the cultural history of Castile. Sánchez Jiménez (2001) has compiled the literary products of his reign in one volume, while the *Poema de Mio Cid* and other gests also emanated from Alfonso's court (see Alvar 1977). Additionally, Alfonso VIII's reign is a landmark in the political history of Castile; it is attested that the earliest parliaments in the Iberian Peninsula met during the late 1100s and this represented a 'new sense of connection between crown and Kingdom' (Ruiz 2019: 4). This aspect of the reign of Alfonso VIII is particularly significant for this study due to the significance of the emphasis which the *Crónica de Castilla* places on it.

## **1.2. THE CONTEXT OF THE CRÓNICA DE CASTILLA**

'All history is contemporary history'.<sup>1</sup> This statement, written by Benedetto Croce, provides the motive for studying a further historical context - that of the time of the text's composition some 100 years after the reign of Alfonso VIII. However, the method, by means of which this second context can be studied, is varied among scholars. Valdaliso (2010) places her study of the *Crónica de Pedro I de Castilla* (1357-1367) within the contemporary contexts of three 'presents': the '*presente del enunciado*', the fixed and datable time when the text was

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<sup>1</sup> 'Ogni vera storia è la storia contemporanea' (1920: 4).

composed; the '*presente del cronista*, the period of time between which the chronicler begins and finishes writing; and the '*presente de la crónica*, which can be wide-ranging and changing and which gives a political context to the life of the chronicler and the age in which he lived (60-61). In other words, this third 'present' incorporates the recent past between the chronicled events and the text's composition to demonstrate the politics with which the chronicler would associate. On the other hand, Fernández Ordóñez contextualises the composition of historiographical works by arguing that all chronicle texts possess an author, the individual who composed the text, and an actor, who sought or patronised its composition (2018: 1). For his part, Georges Martin structures his seminal work *Les juges de Castile* around three poles of determination. Firstly, he describes an enunciative formation, which is divided in turn between the command and control over the text (an institution, patron or social group) and the production of the text (by a cleric, workshop or poet). Secondly, he describes a socio-political frame, which unveils the reason for the text's production (such as to legitimise a royal dynasty). Thirdly, he describes the cultural universe in which the text is composed (including the historical, judicial and political events of the time) (1992: 15). In order to fully understand the complexities of the discourse of a text, it is first important to analyse the social, political and cultural contexts which surround its composition, in the framework of the three presents, considering the author and actor of the text.

While it has been argued, and generally accepted, that chronicle texts have been written to construct, or to support the construction of an image of their patron (*actor*) (see Benítez Guerrero 2012 and Rodríguez Peña 2016), they also portray an ideology associated with that patron. As Rodríguez Peña notes, some chronicles form part of a series of instruments which were used to support the monarch's projects of expansion and strength against the other powers of the kingdom, especially the nobility and the clergy (2016: 9). Medieval kings often took great care to ensure that the composition of historical works justified their power and, recounting the recent past, gave their own reign the most favourable image possible (Guénné 1980: 337). In order to understand what Aengus Ward has dubbed the internal context of a text - the 'specifically textual dynamics of composition', in other words, the discourse of a text, it is first necessary to examine the external context, the 'historical background' which leads to its ideology (2006: 3).

It is generally accepted that the *Crónica de Castilla* was written during the reign of Fernando IV (1295-1312) (Lorenzo 1975-1977 vol, 1: xlv; Cintra 1951 vol 1: 329; Catalán 2000: 78; Bergqvist 2013: 49), though Armistead (2000) places the composition

window to between 1290 and 1300 (160). Like Alfonso VIII, Fernando IV inherited the throne in childhood; he was ten years old when his father, Sancho IV (1284-1295) died. The first six years of his reign saw a similar turbulent minority, when his mother, María de Molina, acting as Regent, fought against vying factions of the nobility to maintain power. This contextualization can be considered to encompass both the *presente del enunciado* and the *presente del cronista*. The struggle to consolidate Fernando IV's royal authority remained a present legacy after his death when, for the second time, María de Molina acted as Regent to her grandson, Alfonso XI (1312-1350). This period of history has been studied by César González Mínguez, who provides a detailed study of the conflict between crown and nobility during the reign of Fernando IV (1976, 1999, 2000, 2005), while the figure of María de Molina has been studied by Carmona Ruiz (2005) and Gaibrois de Ballesteros (1967).

## **2. THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION OF THE *CRÓNICA DE CASTILLA***

In order to fully understand the context of the *Crónica de Castilla*, one must examine the time between the reign of Alfonso VIII and Fernando IV. In the introduction to her edition of the *Crónica de Castilla*, Rochwert-Zuili (2010: 7) also argues that to understand the internal context of the text, it is necessary to first study its origins in preceding texts and its influences on texts which take the *Crónica de Castilla* as their source. In her doctoral thesis, Sabina Zacharias argues that 'it is difficult to say that all historical works are primary narratives' (2010: 10). This statement is supported by theories of intertextuality, which suggests that no text is original or unique, but that a text often rests on others in its structure and meaning (Tyner 2008: 82). The accounts presented by chronicle texts are based on a series of textual substrates which must be taken into account in order to reveal what is innovative (Rochwert-Zuili 2010: 8 n. 10). That analysis is particularly important for this thesis, which will examine the *Crónica*'s place in what Georges Martin has dubbed the greatest historiographical movement of the Spanish Middle Ages (1992: 204).<sup>2</sup>

### **2.1. THE LATIN TEXTS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY**

It was Berengaria, the daughter of Alfonso VIII, who began the historiographical revolution of the thirteenth century. She commissioned Lucas de Tuy, a Canon of the Church of St Isidoro in León and Bishop of Tuy from 1239 until his death in 1249, to assemble a history of Spain

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<sup>2</sup> Martin's seminal work discusses the Legend of the Judges of Castile and provides a detailed analysis of the numerous chronicle texts which narrate the episode, see in particular pp. 201-316. Peter Linehan's *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* places the historiographical texts of the thirteenth century in their historical contexts (1993: 313-505).

from creation to the reign of her son, Fernando III. Otherwise known as the Tudense, Lucas' ideology in the *Chronicón Mundi*<sup>3</sup> is pro-Leonese, and demonstrates a particular loyalty to the City of León and the Church where he was a canon (Linehan 1993: 357)<sup>4</sup>. Fernández Ordóñez dates the text to between 1230 and 1239 (2002: 93), while Martin (1992)<sup>5</sup> dates the text to 1236 (201, 231 n. 9), an argument which is also supported by Rochwert-Zuili (2010: 8).

The second Latin text of this great movement, written around the same time as the Tudense is the *Chronica Latina regum Castellae*<sup>6</sup>, which has been attributed to Juan de Soria, Fernando III's Chancellor (1217-1239), Bishop of Osma, and later of Burgos. While it is generally accepted that the text was written in two stages, Fernández Ordóñez provides convincing arguments that the *Chronica* was in fact composed in three stages between 1223 and 1237 (2006). The ideology of the *Chronica Latina* contrasts greatly with that of the pro-Leonese *Chronicón Mundi* (Rodríguez Peña 2016: 41); the 'Castilianism' of the text is evident throughout as it gives a strong cultural and political identity to the kings of Castile and places them above the rulers of the other peninsular kingdoms.

Perhaps the most significant of the three Latin texts of the thirteenth century is Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *Historia gothica*<sup>7</sup> or *Historia de rebus Hispaniae*. Although he was born in Puente la Reina, in Navarre, Don Rodrigo's family was made up of a mix of Navarrese and Castilian noblemen (Valdeverde: 1989 16). His father, Jimeno Pérez de Rada, was the lord of Cadreita (Navarre) and Rada (Castile) and was a leading nobleman involved in the peace treaties between the two kingdoms after the Castilian noblemen's rebellion of 1206 (Quiroga 1955: 414-415). His mother's lineage descended from the Castilian hero Miguel Muñoz de Hinojosa, which, as Fernández Valverde explains, would have had a great influence on his later life (1989: 16). Indeed, it was in Castile where he became 'one of the central figures of his day' (Ward 2011: 27). Don Rodrigo (1170-1247), known as the Toledano, was Archbishop of Toledo (1209-1247) and Chancellor of Castile (1240-1247). He was a principal advisor to both Alfonso VIII and his grandson, Fernando III, to whom he dedicated his *Historia*.<sup>8</sup> The *De rebus Hispaniae* was composed around 1243, where its narration concludes, and had certainly been completed before 1246 (Martin 1992: 280; Rochwert-Zuili 2010: 9). For Rodrigo, the cultural

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<sup>3</sup> I shall cite Falque's 2003 edition of the *Chronicón Mundi*, using the abbreviation *ChM*.

<sup>4</sup> In his thesis on the Tudense, Jérez Cabrero, names his ideology '*leonesismo isidoriano*' (2006: 193-195) and disputes the argument that Lucas portrays an anti-Castilian sentiment in his work (Cf. Fernández Ordóñez, who argues that Lucas is above all a defender of a strong and religious monarchy (2002: 110-111)).

<sup>5</sup> For Martin's detailed analysis of the contexts of composition of the *Chronicón Mundi*, see 201-211.

<sup>6</sup> I shall cite Charlo Brea's 1997 edition, using the abbreviation *CLRC*.

<sup>7</sup> I shall cite Valdeverde's 1987 edition as *DRH*.

<sup>8</sup> See Crespo López (2015); Martin (1992: 251-258); and Linehan (1993: 327-349)

heritage of the See of Toledo not only symbolised the primacy of the Castilian capital and the Kingdom of Castile in the Iberian Peninsula (Delpy 1998: 100), it also acted as a unifying factor after the conquest and repopulation of the Iberian peninsula, which characterised the first half of Fernando III's reign (Ward 2011: 28). This conquest led to the reincorporation of Leon and Galicia in 1230 and the further reconquest of Al-Andalus, including Córdoba (1237), Murcia (1241), and Sevilla (1248). Fernández Gallardo argues that the *Historia gothica* promotes 'un sentido de comunidad basado en la pertenencia a una tierra, espacio que aglutina un destino común' (2004: 73) that is based on the shared descentance of Fernando's subjects from the Visigoths (Lomax 1977: 588) and that has also influenced the chronicles which follow.

## **2.2. ALFONSO X AND THE ESTORIA DE ESPAÑA**

Perhaps the greatest historiographical projects of the Spanish Middle Ages came in the form of two great texts, the *General Estoria* and the *Estoria de España*, composed under the direction of Alfonso X *el Sabio*. With a strong neo-gothic and central monarchist ideology, Alfonso X used his chronicle texts, as well as his numerous legal writings, to impose his authority over his kingdom and to legitimise his claims to the Imperial Crown.<sup>9</sup> There are three versions of the *Estoria de España* and that they pertain to different periods of Alfonso X's reign. The first, the *Versión primitiva*, which Diego Catalán has also named the *Versión concisa*, was written before 1271 and narrates ancient history until the death of Vermudo III, but was extended around 1274 to include the reigns of the Castilian kings between Fernando I and Alfonso VI (Fernández Ordóñez 1993-1994: 122). The *Versión enmendada después de 1274* contains the history of the Gothic kings, and parts of the Astur-Leonese dynasty (ibid). The third Alfonsine version is the *Versión crítica*, composed between 1282 and 1284. This last version contains the strongest example of Alfonso X's ideology, particularly the *fecho del imperio*, his bid for the Holy Roman Imperial crown and may have been composed as a response to the uprising of his second son, Sancho (later Sancho IV) and members of the nobility in 1282 (see Sanz Martín 2016: 389-391. For the *fecho del imperio*, see Valdeón Barrique 2003-2004 and Catalán 1992: 11-18). The *Versión crítica* narrates history between the reigns of Pelayo and concludes abruptly with the death of Fernando II of León. Editions of

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<sup>9</sup> For studies on the political ideology of the *Estoria de España*, see Fernández-Ordóñez (1992 chapter 1) and Valdeón Barrique (2003-2004).

the *Versión crítica* have been published by Inés Fernández Ordóñez (1993)<sup>10</sup> and Mariano de la Campa (2009).<sup>11</sup>

A further version of the *Estoria de España* was composed during the reign of Sancho IV. The *Versión sanchina*, formerly known as the *Version retóricamente amplificada de 1289*, marks a distinct difference in ideology from the *Versión crítica* and is more detailed than the Alfonsine versions of the *Estoria de España*. One composition of the *Versión sanchina* is contained in Manuscript E<sub>2</sub>, which makes up part of Ramón Menéndez Pidal's edition of the text, known as the *Primera Crónica General*.<sup>12</sup> Gómez Redondo argues that, in the *Versión sanchina*, Sancho IV aimed to construct a model of chivalric behaviour and to form a strong union between the crown and his rebellious nobility (1998: 963).

### 2.3. THE POST-ALFONSINE TRADITION

Several texts based on the *Estoria de España* were written throughout the fourteenth century, including the *Crónica de Castilla*. The *Crónica abreviada* (1320-25) by Juan Manuel, Prince of Villena and self-titled tutor of Alfonso XI (CA 573), is a concise version of the lost \**Crónica manuelina*, a text which Juan Manuel based on the *Estoria de España* and the *Crónica de Castilla*.<sup>13</sup> Importantly, this text contains a \**Historia menos atajante*, an account of the civil war during the minority of Alfonso VIII, which is also included in the *Crónica ocampiana* (published by Florián de Ocampo in 1541). The *Crónica geral de 1344* is a Portuguese text, written by Pedro de Barcelos soon after the Battle of Salado in 1340. The ideology of this text and the Manueline chronicles, is fundamentally opposed to the Alfonsine *Estoria de España* because the identity of the narrative which they contain is more aligned to the nobility than the crown, despite the fact that both authors base their works on the monumental project of Alfonso X *el Sabio*. However, the post-Alfonsine tradition includes a more fictionalised narration in comparison to the previous historiographical works because the texts in this tradition incorporate episodes of legendary origin (see Alves Moreira 2015 and Catalán 1978).

## 3. THE CRÓNICA DE CASTILLA

### 3.1 THE CRÓNICA DE CASTILLA IN THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL TRADITION

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<sup>10</sup> Between the reigns of Pelayo and Ordoño II.

<sup>11</sup> From the reign of Fruela II to the death of Fernando II, when the narrative comes to an end. I shall cite Campa's 2009 edition as VC.

<sup>12</sup> I shall use the *Primera Crónica General* as a testimony of the *Versión sanchina*, which I shall cite as PCG.

<sup>13</sup> I shall cite Bleuca's edition of the *Crónica abreviada* as *Crónica abreviada*. For the *Crónica manuelina*, see Hijano Villegas (2011) and (2016). I am grateful to Manolo Hijano for providing me with drafts of an edition of a fragment of the *Crónica manuelina* which he is preparing. I shall cite the *Crónica manuelina* as CM.

The placing of the *Crónica de Castilla* within the historiographical tradition of medieval Spain has been the product of decades of scholarship. When Ramón Menéndez Pidal first identified the *Estoria de España* as the *Primera crónica general*, he also considered the *Crónica geral de 1344* to be the *Segunda crónica general* and dated the *Crónica de veinte reyes* (now known to be a family of manuscripts which uses the testimonies of the *Versión crítica* and the *Crónica de Castilla*) to around 1360 (see Fernández Ordóñez 1993-1994). Menéndez Pidal believed the *Crónica de Castilla*, also named *Crónica de los reyes de Castilla*, had been written during the fourteenth century. This simplistic overview of the historiographical texts of the Alfonsine and post-Alfonsine texts was the basis of subsequent scholarship until Luis Lindley Cintra began to disprove the earlier theories of Menéndez Pidal. In the *Introdução* to his edition of the *Crónica geral de 1344* (1951), Cintra demonstrated that the *Crónica de Castilla* and the *Crónica de veinte reyes* were actually composed before the Portuguese chronicle. He concluded that the latter was contemporary to Alfonso X, while the *Crónica de Castilla* was written during the reign of Fernando IV. Armistead (1955) first studied several manuscripts of the *Crónica de Castilla* but, as Campa argues, his study only focussed on narrative which depicts the reign of Fernando I within the context of the *Gesta de las Mocedades de Rodrigo* (2010: 485). Diego Catalán (1962) was the first scholar to present a detailed full description of 23 manuscripts of the text, and to offer a characterisation of the *Crónica de Castilla* in his study of post-Alfonsine historiography (313-356).<sup>14</sup> The first, and until recently, only, edition of the chronicle was Ramón Lorenzo's Gallego-Portuguese translation (1975-1977), and this had been cited by scholars of the text until Rochwert-Zuili's edition (2010). While it is generally accepted that the *Crónica de Castilla* dates from between 1295 and 1312 (Crespo 2002: 285), it has been argued that the present of the *presente del enunciado* was more localised during the minority of Fernando IV (1295-1301) (Bergqvist 2018: 79; Rochwert-Zuili 2010: 18-21). Although an intriguing and probable hypothesis, there is insufficient evidence to fully demonstrate this more precise dating and we can only conclude that it was written around 1300, in the early years of the reign of Fernando IV.

### 3.2 THE PROTAGONISM OF THE NOBILITY

The protagonism of the nobility in the post-Alfonsine tradition led Diego Catalán to propose that the *Crónica de Castilla*, the *Crónica abreviada*, the *Crónica Ocampaiana* (published by Florián D'Ocampo in 1541), the *Crónica manuelina* and the *Crónica de veinte reyes* (*Versión*

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<sup>14</sup> For a description of the various manuscripts of the *Crónica de Castilla*, see 325-349, nn. 17-43).

*crítica*) are based on a lost *\*Historia nobiliaria de Castilla* (1992: 223-224), an aristocratic rewriting of the past, which was commissioned outside of the royal scriptorium at the behest of one or several noble houses. This characterisation of the *Crónica de Castilla* defines the text as the ideological opposite of, and as a reaction to, the Alfonsine *Estorias*. Catalán also provides a schema for the intertextual relationships between the chronicles, identifying two branches: a concise redaction, which became the prototype for both the *Crónica de Castilla* and the *Versión crítica*; and a version in ‘prosa ampulosa’, which comprises the *\*Historia menos atajante* and forms the basis of the *Crónica ocampiana* and the Manuline texts (ibid.: 311). This argument is supported by Leonardo Funes, who argues that the literary output of chroniclers with an aristocratic inspiration consisted, on the one hand, of elaborating original tales which referred to the immediate history of Castile, and the re-elaboration and continuation of the *Estoria de España* on the other (2000: 15). Catalán and Funes argue that the existing manuscripts of the *Estoria de España* and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada’s *Historia gothica* are combined with an archetype<sup>15</sup> that is the lost *\*Historia nobiliaria*, and transformed in different directions by the pressure of different political ideologies and by virtue of differing conceptions of historical discourse (ibid.: 16) to form the post-Alfonsine works.

Manolo Hijano (2011 and 2014), however, opposes the idea of a *\*Historia nobiliaria*, instead arguing that the possible original discourse, which relates to the nobility and is found in the *Crónica de Castilla* and other texts, was collected and compiled by Alfonsine historians in a *\*Cuaderno alfonsí* and combined with the *Historia gothica*. He posits that the origin of the material which is not found in the Toledano’s work can be found in legends associated with noble houses, romances and epics known at court, traditions associated with towns and cities, and diplomas and documents from the royal chancery (2011: 128). This combination of the *\*Cuaderno alfonsí* together with Alfonsine drafts of the *Estoria de España* and the *De rebus Hispaniae*, forms what Hijano has named the *\*Antecedente Versión crítica* (2014: 35). This now lost prior work made up the prototype of the *Versión crítica* and the *Crónica de Castilla* and was used years later by Juan Manuel for the *\*Historia menos atajante* in the *Crónica manuelina* (2011: 128). This argument is supported by Francisco Bautista, who argues that it is impossible for the *Crónica de Castilla* to descend from a *\*Historia nobiliaria*, which is ‘sin tradición, ni descendencia propia, y con informaciones muy variopintas’ (2014: 96). Bautista supports Hijano’s hypothesis that a *cuaderno de trabajos* was made in the Alfonsine workshops

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<sup>15</sup> Gérard Genette notes that the term ‘architext’ is very close to what he refers to as hypotext. He defines hypertextuality as the relationship that links text B (the hypertext) to an earlier text A (hypotext) (1962: 14).



with the goal of completing the *Historia gothica* and supplementing it. He agrees that some of the narrative originates in oral stories shared by the nobility at court, and explains that these stories were a kind of common knowledge which would have been considered appropriate to enter the historical records (2014: 97). Kim Bergqvist also supports this position: ‘it would be wrong to keep pressing the point that the *Crónica de Castilla* was composed from the point of view of the nobility, or that it is a chronicle of aristocratic origin’ (2018: 80). Bergqvist agrees with Hijano (2014) and Bautista (2014) that there are ‘vestiges of aristocratic oral tradition in the text’ but argues that ‘the chronicler [...] surely did not have the intention of glorifying the Castilian nobility’ (2018: 80). Given the lack of evidence surrounding the existence of a \**Historia nobiliaria*, this argument is the most convincing in demonstrating the *Crónica de Castilla*’s place in the historiographical tradition and leads to a further convincing hypothesis regarding the text’s ideology.

Fernando Gómez Redondo considers that the *Crónica de Castilla* was composed at the behest of María de Molina (c. 1265-1321),<sup>16</sup> who was Queen Regent of Castile during Fernando IV’s minority (1999: 1230-1231). In his *Historia de la prosa medieval*, Gómez Redondo introduces the term *molinismo* (Molinism), which describes the political and cultural ideology of partisans of Queen María during the reigns of Sancho IV, Fernando IV and Alfonso XI (see Gómez Redondo 1998: 856-863). More recently, Gómez Redondo has published a detailed study of the cultural ideology of Molinist texts, within which he includes the *Crónica de Castilla*. He concludes that they have nine characteristics (2012), the most significant of which I shall summarise. Firstly, they represent a rigorous correction of the Alfonsine legal system in that they display a shift from a *clerecía cortesana*, which Wacks defines as ‘a curriculum patterned after those of the ecclesiastic *studii*, intended to elevate the general learning of court’ (2015: 221 n. 31; Cf. Gómez Redondo 1998: 403) to a *clerecía aristocrática*, whereby members of the nobility were integrated into the service of the court of learning (Gómez Redondo 2012: 79). Secondly, Molinist texts also demonstrate the primacy of the cathedral school of Toledo as a cultural and spiritual centre. Its Archbishops, Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel and his nephew, Gonzalo Díez Palomeque, were principal advisors to Sancho IV and María de Molina. Thirdly, historiographical Molinist discourse also had its own characteristics which broke from Alfonsine traditions. Gómez Redondo states that Molinist texts are made up of their

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<sup>16</sup> Biographies of María de Molina include del Valle Currieses (2000) and Carmena Ruiz (2005). A depiction of María de Molina’s role during the reign of Fernando IV is included in the *Crónica de Fernando IV*, which was written at the behest of Alfonso XI (Benítez Guerrero 2014: 313). I shall cite Benavides’ 1860 edition of the *Crónica de Fernando IV* as *CFIV*.

own materials, which demonstrates the development of fiction in chronicles, and that the texts often contain ‘*exemplos*’, which provide a moral or political lesson for the reader. Finally, the ‘Molinist’ ideology centres on a political and geographic identity which is overtly Castilian (Gómez Redondo 2012: 81). Gómez Redondo provides a commentary on some of the *Crónica de Castilla*’s Molinist characteristics (2012: 67-71), and Rochwert-Zuili categorises the Molinist tropes of the *Crónica de Castilla* as demonstrating a sense of Castilianism, an affirmation of a spiritual dimension and, most importantly for this study, the creation of an ideal union between the crown and the nobility (2010: 37).

#### 4. SCOPE OF STUDY

The methodology for this thesis is based on Genette’s theories of intertextuality (1962) and close analysis of the discourse contained within the *Crónica de Castilla* and its hipotexts and hypertexts. I shall take the *Historia gothica*, which is the main hipotext of all the Alfonsine and post-Alfonsine works as a reference point<sup>17</sup> for this intertextual analysis and build upon the studies of Bautista (2014) and Hijano Villegas (2014) in order to highlight how the various texts introduced above recast history in a slightly different way to reflect their ideologies. Textual analysis will always be given in the context of the three presents of each text, which as Martin (1992) and Ward (2011) argue, allow the reader to understand the socio-political motivations of the chronicler and his patron. This analysis of the *Crónica de Castilla*’s depiction of the reign of Alfonso VIII will examine the Molinist ideology of the *Crónica de Castilla* which, I shall argue, is not represented by a dramatic shift from the pro-monarchical ideology of the Toledano and the centrist Alfonsine ideology, which is found in the Alfonsine versions of the *Estoria de España*, to one which is overtly aristocratic, as Catalán and Funes suggest. In addition, the text demonstrates the skilful negotiation carried out by María de Molina, the *Crónica de Castilla*’s actor, in her efforts to consolidate power, control an unruly nobility and legitimise the royal dynasty to which she belonged. As Hijano (2006: 16 n. 18). suggests, rather than a shift of focus between opposing class ideologies (i.e. from the royal texts of the thirteenth century to the noble texts of the fourteenth), the *Crónica de Castilla*’s narrative rather demonstrates a move towards constructive collaboration between these two interest groups. This resulted in the creation of an ideal union between the crown and the nobility (see Rochwert-Zuili 2010: 37) and provides the ideology of the *Crónica de Castilla*

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<sup>17</sup> I shall also make some reference to the pro-Leonese *Chronicón Mundi*, though as Bergqvist notes, the Toledano’s Castilian ideology ‘often made the Alfonsine historians choose Rodrigo’s version when the two were opposed as regards historical particulars’ (2018: 70).

with part of its ideology. This allows the chronicler to present a vision of the ideal Molinist King/vassal relationship using the portrayal of Alfonso VIII's reign and, more generally, a new model for society which works reciprocally for the monarchy and the nobility. Other Molinist characteristics can be seen throughout the section of the *Crónica de Castilla* which narrates the reign of Alfonso VIII, especially the creation of a feminine regal identity (see Gómez Redondo 2012: 70), which is closely linked to ideas of feminine spirituality.

Each chapter of this thesis will analyse sections of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative that contain the largest amount of textual innovation in relation to the *Crónica*'s hipotexts, because the Molinist ideology of the text is clearer in original discourse. Chapter one will introduce the theme of the nobility during the minority of Alfonso VIII, an issue which has already been discussed by scholars, but will redefine the portrayal of the behaviour of the noble classes in relation to the legal treatises which governed Castilian society during the minority of Fernando IV. Chapter two will examine the role of two women in the text's narrative, in particular Queen Leonor and the Jewess of Toledo. In the *Crónica de Castilla*'s portrayal of Leonor Plantagenet, the chronicler seeks to create parallels between María de Molina and Leonor in order to reinforce her programme of legitimisation. The legend of the Jewess, perhaps the most well-known episode from the *Crónica de Castilla*'s portrayal of Alfonso VIII's reign demonstrates Molinist textual innovation and manipulation of oral narratives in order to highlight the important function which a loyal nobleman should fulfil during María de Molina's regency. Chapter three will examine the content of four chapters of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s that appears for the first time in this text: the portrayal of Diego López de Haro. By manipulating existing portrayals of Don Diego, the *Crónica de Castilla* creates a new image of a model vassal which acts as a role model for the unruly nobility whom María de Molina sought to control. Finally, chapter four will examine the *Crónica de Castilla*'s portrayal of the Reconquest, highlighting the actions of Diego López de Haro in the Battles of Alarcos (1195) and Las Navas de Tolosa (1212). These examples of narrative which I have selected for my study owing to the way in which they promote the Molinist ideology do not exist in isolation. The episodes come together to form a coherent narrative. The narrative structure has its basis in the Christian tropes of moral fall and divine redemption.

## CHAPTER I:

### CHIVALRIC BEHAVIOUR DURING THE MINORITY OF ALFONSO VIII

The minority of Alfonso VIII took place between the boy-king's accession to the throne in 1158 and his coming of age in 1169. These eleven years were marked by the dominance of the nobility, and the rivalry between three noble houses: the Lara; Castro and Haro (Bautista 2014: 89). By the time of the *Crónica de Castilla*, they had formed a powerful oligarchy which very rarely presented a united front (González Mínguez 2009: 39; cf. Escalona 2002: 133). The first eight chapters of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative pertaining to the reign of Alfonso describe the conflict between these rival clans, and their struggle for power. The protagonism of the nobility in this section of the *Crónica* has led Diego Catalán (1992) and Leonardo Funes (2000 and 2015) to believe that it was based on a lost *\*Historia nobiliaria*, yet other scholars such as Bautista (2014) and Hijano Villegas (2014) have made convincing arguments that the text emanates from a royal *scriptorium*. For their part, Rochwert-Zuili (2010) and Gómez Redondo (1998 and 2012) state that the text is an example of *Molinismo*, a term which was coined by the latter scholar. The chapters narrating Alfonso VIII's minority demonstrate a transition from the *De rebus Hispaniae* and the *Versión crítica* of the *Estoria de España*, the ideology of which is explicitly royalist, towards later chronicles, like the *Crónica geral de 1344* and the *\*Crónica manuelina* (which survives in the *\*Historia menos atajante*), whose narrative supports the nobility and, in the case of the *Crónica manuelina*, Juan Manuel's own pretensions for the throne. The ideological shift seen in the *Crónica de Castilla*, is a midpoint between the previous ideologies and those that follow, demonstrating a unique model for the relationship between king and vassal. This consists of an alliance between the crown and nobility and is an example of the Molinist ideology which characterises this part of the text. Several episodes which feature the nobility have been identified in post-Alfonsine texts by scholars, such as Catalán (1992: 308), Bautista (2014) and Funes (2015: 8),<sup>18</sup> though not all these episodes appear in the *Crónica de Castilla*. By examining the *Crónica de Castilla*'s portrayal of the behaviour of the

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<sup>18</sup> Funes also announces the preparation of a book which will offer a detailed analysis of each episode he identifies, entitled *De Alfonso el Sabio al Canciller Ayala: estudios de historiografía medieval castellana*.

nobility in these episodes from Alfonso VIII's minority, it is possible to establish the transitory chivalric code created during the regency of Fernando IV in order to maintain control over an unruly nobility, though it is first necessary to discuss the concept of chivalry as it was understood at the time of the composition of the *Crónica de Castilla*.

## THE CHIVALRIC CODES OF THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

The complex question 'what is chivalry?' has been asked by many scholars, who invariably disagree on the answer. Marc Bloch, author of the seminal work *Feudal Society* associates chivalry with the social group of knights, stating that it provides them with a code of conduct (1962: 312-321). As Keen (1984: 1-6) describes, chivalry was used by the knightly classes as a way of marking the difference between them and commoners, 'to legitimise their dominant position and protect the exclusivity of their rank' (Bergqvist 2013: 151). On the other hand, chivalry began to acquire religious connotations, with the blessing of the sword, dubbing the knight, and the creation of religious orders of knights (see Bloch 1962: 314-319). During the Middle Ages, chivalry underwent various forms, and was part of an 'ongoing discursive struggle [...] subject to legal stipulations, theoretical and philosophical debate and criticism, as well as didactic writings in various social contexts' (Bergqvist 2013: 151).

The *Crónica de Castilla* was composed at a time when ideas on chivalry in Iberia were first being formalised and written. Rodríguez Velasco has described the hundred years beginning in 1250 as a time of 'definition' for Castilian chivalry (1997: 1335-1338). In the County of Catalonia, the Majorcan nobleman-turned-clergyman, Ramón Llull, had composed his *Llibre de l'ordre de cavalleria* (1274-1276) and, in the Kingdom of Castile, Alfonso X's legal masterpiece, the *Siete Partidas*, were written some time before (c. 1260).<sup>19</sup> Title XXI of the *Segunda Partida* outlines several laws on chivalry and the noble class more generally and, together with his other legal works, such as the *Espéculo* and the *Fuero Real*, illustrates Alfonso *el Sabio*'s absolutist ideology. In his commentary on Title XXI of the *Segunda Partida*, which focusses on the knightly and noble classes, Martin (2004) argues that the text was a way for Alfonso X to suppress the rebellious noble class (223-225) during his reign (see Escalona 2002). The concept of *naturaleza* became a principal feature of Alfonso X's work and is prevalent throughout the Title XXI of the *Segunda Partida*. Indeed, Law 14, concerning the investiture of new knights, stipulates that there is a bond of *naturaleza* between knight and king

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<sup>19</sup> I shall cite the Real Academia de la Historia's edition of the *Partidas* as *SP*.

(Martin 2004: 230-232). Rodríguez Velasco defines this concept by describing *naturaleza* as ‘new forms of subjection are based squarely on the incorporation of the idea of natural bonds: the knight, vested by the king, acquires an indissoluble natural bond with him’ (2010: 29). *Naturaleza* was first mentioned in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* (Estepa Díez 2010) and is famously present in the *Cantar de Mio Cid* (c.1207). It became an important feature of medieval European society. Fairclough (1992) and Bergqvist (2014) argue both Alfonso X and Ramón Llull used their written works on chivalry as a way of influencing and changing social thought and Rodríguez Velasco states that these works represented Castilian thinking on chivalry and the behaviour of the knightly classes until 1325, despite Llull’s Catalan origins. From 1325, Rodríguez Velasco argues that the works of Don Juan Manuel began to offer an opposing view of what defines chivalry to the Wise King’s earlier treatises (c. 1325-c. 1350) (1997: 1335).

Rather than a focus on *naturaleza*, Juan Manuel’s writings favour a nobility based on feudal bonds between lord and vassal (Armijo Canto 2007: 307). In return for granting land or titles to a vassal (*beneficium*), the lord receives service (*servitium*) from him. Bloch describes how ‘the vassal was bound by his fealty to “render aid” to his lord in all things, and it was taken for granted that this meant placing his sword [*auxilium*] and his counsel [*consilium*] at his lord’s disposal’ (1962: 222) Hill defines *consilium* as ‘formal quasi-public advice as well as informal private advice’ (2002: 73) and Bergqvist describes it as an essential political function and one which is repeated throughout the text (2013: 54-55). In the Middle Ages, ‘the king relied upon his great nobles to serve in his household, to advise him on matters of state at the meetings of his *curia*, or even to conduct diplomacy on behalf of the crown, while by a wholesale delegation of his power, he entrusted them with large areas of the realm to administer in his name’ (Barton 1997: 104). Bergqvist argues that, rather than the Alfonsine emphasis on loyalty to the king, Don Juan Manuel’s *Libro del cauallero et del Escudero*, a mostly lost text written around 1326, focusses on a ‘horizontal ideal, connected to the function of counselling’ (2014: 160. See Gómez Redondo 1998: 1119). In this sense, a shifting emphasis from the natural bonds of vassalage to the feudal exchange of benefit and service represents a shift from Alfonsine to Manueline thinking on chivalry, which can be seen to an extent in the *Crónica de Castilla*’s narrative of the minority of Alfonso VIII. Gómez Redondo (1998) structures his monumental work on the history of medieval Castilian prose by placing his chapter about Molinist texts, including the *Crónica de Castilla* between what he calls ‘la corte letrada de Alfonso X’ and ‘la cortesía nobiliaria’, which pertains to Don Juan Manuel. In the *Crónica de Castilla*’s narration

of the minority of Alfonso VIII, aspects of Alfonso X's thinking on chivalry, based on the concept of *naturaleza*, and ideas of the lord/vassal bond, as diffused by Juan Manuel, often compete with each other and therefore lead to the text adopting a new style of monarchy, based on loyalty and service which lies between the Alfonsine and Maneline chivalric codes.

### THE NARRATIVE OF THE *CRÓNICA DE CASTILLA*

The *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative of the reign of Alfonso VIII opens 'en la era de mill e çiento e nouenta e ocho años',<sup>20</sup> after the death of Sancho III when Alfonso was four years old and some of his subjects had gone to the court of Fernando II of León in order to 'meter desacuerdo entre los regnos' (CC 266).<sup>21</sup> Before giving any other details of the boy-king or his guardians the chronicler immediately introduces an atmosphere of division and conflict in the Kingdom of Castile. This context will dictate events for the following ten years and is the background to the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of Alfonso VIII's minority. On the advice of the Castilian nobility who turned towards the Leonese King, the chronicler writes that Fernando II 'tomóle villas e castillos e aldeas, e puso achaque que lo fazía' (ibid.). Martínez Díez describes how, on the death of Sancho III, the Kingdom of Castile extended over 100,000 square kilometres, while León was 80,000 square kilometres (2007: 19-20), having greatly expanded the partible inheritance left by Alfonso VII *el Emperador* on his death in 1157 (Martínez Díez 2007: 17. Cf. *DRH* VII. VII). In 1162 Fernando II entered Castile, as a reaction to a Salamantine uprising supported by members of Ávila's militia; the town was controlled by Manrique de Lara as regent of Castile (see González 1960 vol. I: 158). By 9 August of that year, the Leonese king had conquered Segovia and other towns in Extremadura, Toledo, and all the Trasierra (Martínez Díez 2007: 30). The uprising in Salamanca is absent in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative, as well as in the *De rebus Hispaniae* and the versions of the *Estoria de España* (*crítica* and *sanchina*). However, it is included in Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicón Mundi*, perhaps in order to legitimise the Leonese penetration into Castile, corresponding to the Tudense's ideology.

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<sup>20</sup> This would mean the narration begins in the year 1160; the *Æra Hispanica* began in 38 BC (Roth 2003: 190). Martínez Díez, however, argues that these events must have taken place in 1158, the year that Sancho III died, citing a document which details Manrique Pérez de Lara at the centre of government (2007: 28; Cf. Fernández Florez 1991, doc. 1333).

<sup>21</sup> Rochwert-Zuili's edition of the *Crónica de Castilla* mainly transcribes manuscript P of the text, she includes variations in manuscript G in footnotes. Since Hijano Villegas (2006: n 10) considers the reading of manuscript G to be less erroneous, than that of P I shall also replace any variants of P with G, without indication. In this example, ms. P reads '...entre los reyes'.

The legal situation and social status of those who had ‘defected’ to Fernando II is a complex one. The practice of ‘desnaturarse’, exiling oneself from one’s kingdom of origin, had become common during the reign of Queen Urraca (1079-1109) (Valdeavellano 2009: 100-101) and the *Siete Partidas* define it as follows: ‘Desnaturar segund lenguaje de España tanto quiere decir como salir de la naturaleza que ha con su sennor, o con la tierra en que biue’ (*SP IV XXV.V*). One must perform this act of self-expatriation in a particular way, as Valdeavellano explains in detail (*ibid.*: 99-101). The *Fuero Viejo de Castilla*,<sup>22</sup> describes that the nobleman wishing to break the bonds of vassalage between him and his lord may be done by the ancient Castilian tradition of *besamanos* or the kissing of hands (*I. III:III*; Cf *SP IV.XXV*). The *Fuero Viejo* also elaborates on how a former royal vassal who seeks a new lord must not make war, or seek to harm his former King in any way: ‘si algund Rico ome, u otro Fijodalgo se va de la tierra, non le echando el Rey, estos que ansi salen de la tierra, non por si, nin por otro señor non deven facer guerra ninguna al Rey en toda sua tierra, nin otro mal ninguno al Rey, nin a suos vasallos’ (*FVC I. IV: I*). According to the narration of the *Crónica de Castilla*, this practice of *besamanos* had not been carried out properly by the noblemen who had gone to the court of Fernando II, rendering the defection unlawful. Libaze Savastrano has argued that Alfonso X’s treatise on chivalry emphasises the lack of loyalty of a knight as a theological transgression (1994: 395), which would render the defectors’ actions all the more serious.

However, in this particular case there are several complications. Firstly, the knights who turned to Fernando II did not make war or harm their previous lord, Sancho III; he had died and as such they were unable to fulfil the necessary ceremony of ‘*besamanos*’. However, as heir to the throne of Castile, according to the *Siete Partidas*, the noblemen should have felt a natural bond of vassalage to Alfonso VIII and not have left for Leon. However, the *Crónica de Castilla* explicitly states that ‘el rey don Sancho feziera fazer omenaje a todos [los] vasallos que tenían fortaleças d’él o tierra, que las non diesen a omne del mundo synon a su fijo, quando oviese quinze años’ (*CC 266*). The statement, which the *Crónica de Castilla* takes from the *De rebus Hispaniae* is repeated in the *Versión crítica* and *Versión sanchina*, and leaves unanswered the question of whether the nobles should have turned to Fernando II, paid homage to Alfonso VIII, or not done either. The only concrete instruction they were given is that they should not give the land they held for Sancho III to anyone except Alfonso VIII on his coming

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<sup>22</sup> The *Fuero Viejo de Castilla* was a Castilian law treatise, first composed in 1248, and compiled into five books under Pedro I in 1356. It is this version that survives. I shall cite Asso and Manuel’s edition of the *Fuero* as *FVC*.



of age. However, the *Segunda Partida* highlights the importance, not just of loyalty to one's master, but also to one's kingdom: 'no dubdarán de morir por su señor natural non tan solamente desviando su mal e su daño, mas acrescentando su tierra et su honra quanto mas podiera et sopieren: eso mismo farán por pro comunal de su tierra' (*SP* II XXI.XXI). The inclusion of the final clause, 'for the communal good of his country' is, perhaps, where the transgression of these noblemen and knights lies, according to the Alfonsine code. Although Sancho III was dead, and the tie to their 'natural lord' had been broken by circumstance, their tie to the Kingdom of Castile had not been broken. They were still Castilians and, according to contemporary views on chivalry, as well as having a duty to their lord, they had a duty to their country.

This conflict which the nobles faced seems to address an aristocratic readership who, in the early years of Fernando IV's reign, faced similar dilemmas. González Mínguez describes the minority of Fernando IV as a time when the nobility made an assault for power (1998: 1079) due to the weakness of María de Molina's regency which, he argues, was caused by the pretensions of Alfonso de la Cerda and the debatable rights of the young king (*ibid.*: 1080). The eldest son of Alfonso X, Fernando de la Cerda died in 1275 and caused a succession crisis for the Wise King (see Arias Guillén 2012: 148-150). According to the *Fuero Real* and the *Partidas*, which were accepted at the Assembly of Burgos (1272) and again in Almagro (1273) and the Assembly of Zamora (1274), Fernando de la Cerda's son, Alfonso, should be the new heir to the throne. However, this contradicted traditional Castilian laws, which dictate that the second son of the monarch, in this case Sancho (later Sancho IV) should inherit the crown (Arias Guillén 2012: 149; Sanz Martín 2016: 388). Sancho was named as Alfonso X's successor at the Cortes of Segovia in 1278, though Queen Violante and the Infantes de la Cerda had escaped to Aragon a year earlier (*ibid.*: 389). Furthermore, Sancho IV's marriage to María de Molina was considered illicit by the Church; they were second cousins, which further called into question the legitimacy of the young King Fernando IV during his minority.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OVER THE YOUNG ALFONSO VIII

The narration of the *Crónica* continues, describing how Sancho III left Alfonso VIII's tutorship to Gutierre Fernández de Castro.<sup>23</sup> The *Crónica de Castilla*, following the textual tradition begun in the *De rebus Hispaniae*, tells of how Manrique Pérez de Lara, together with his

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<sup>23</sup> For a brief overview of the genealogy of Gutierre Fernández de Castro, see Martínez Díez (2007: 26-27). For a more detailed study of the origins of the Castro clan, see Salazar Acha (1991: 33-68).

brothers Álvaro and Nuño Pérez de Lara, demand that Gutierre Fernández de Castro surrender the tutorship of the child-king (and the regency of the kingdom) to them or they would cause uprisings and unrest across the kingdom.<sup>24</sup> Therefore, the brothers advised Don Gutierre to give custody of the child to them and regency of the kingdom to Manrique, on the promise that ‘lo onrrarían como a su mayor’ and that they would return the king ‘quanto él mandase’ (CC 266). The chronicler describes how ‘don Garçi Fernández, que era bueno e onrrado e non se cataua de la mala verdat, e era omne de grand corazón, e cryó el ynfante desde naçió e fízole muy grande, pero por partyr contienda de la tierra e por la grand segurança que le fazia el conde don Enrique’ (ibid.). After what Martínez Díez refers to as a period of ‘concordancia y buena armonía entre los Castro y los Lara’ (1997: 28), the Lara brothers began abusing their power, ‘estendiéronse más que non deuieran’ (CC 266). Seeing his rivals behaving in an unknightly manner, Gutierre Fernández de Castro demanded that Manrique de Lara return custody of the King and regency of the kingdom to him. Not only did the Lara brothers refuse to do this, they also disputed that promise ever being made: ‘ellos escarneçian d’él e teníanlo por loco’ (ibid.).

This narrative is a translation of the Toledano, who describes the deviousness and ambition of the Lara brothers to gain the regency and tutorship of the young Alfonso VIII. This unfavourable depiction of the members of the House of Lara is hardly surprising, considering the troubled relationship that the Archbishop had with Álvaro Núñez de Lara, who opposed Fernando III’s succession to the throne in 1217 (see Doubleday 2001). Jiménez de Rada was a strong supporter of Berengaria, and her son’s succession (see Doubleday 2001: 67). The feelings of animosity were also felt by Alfonso X, against whom Nuño González de Lara (d. 1275) played an important part in the 1272-1273 uprising of noblemen (Escalona 2002: 155; Sánchez de Mora 2004: 637), hence why the *Versión crítica* also contains this element. The *Versión sanchina* also includes this trope. Sanz Martín argues that the succession crisis in the last few years of Alfonso X’s reign led to the division of the nobility into two factions, separating the grand magnates of the kingdom into two bands: those who supported Alfonso de la Cerda, often led by the Lara clan, and those who supported Sancho (later Sancho IV), led by members of the House of Haro (2016: 389 n. 23). However, the majority of the political elite supported Sancho by 1277 (see González Jiménez 1993: 306-328). Since Juan Núñez de Lara, the grandson of Nuño González, continued to support the de la Cerda cause during María

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<sup>24</sup> Manrique Pérez de Lara controlled the towns of Áliva, San Esteban de Gormaz, Atienza and Toledo (Martínez Díez 2007: 27). See maps 4, 5 and 6 of Doubleday (2001: 31-39) for a pictorial description of the lands held by Manrique, Álvaro, and Nuño Pérez de Lara. For a study of the Lara family, see Salazar y Castro (1696), Moxó y Ortiz (1969) Doubleday (2001) and Sánchez de Mora (2003).

de Molina's regency, it is hardly surprising that the *Crónica de Castilla* also contains a negative portrayal of the Lara brothers.

The chronicle then repeats the narration of the Leonese occupation of parts of Castile and Extremadura, this time blaming the warring Castros and Laras for the redistribution of territory. The *Historia gothica*, as well as the *Versión sanchina* places emphasis on the territorial gains made by Fernando II (Bergqvist 2013: 53-54): 'pudiera el rey de León tomar la mayor parte de Castiella et otrosi de Extremadura (PCG 669), while the *Versión crítica* contains a typographical error, stating that 'perduera el rey de Leon la mayor parte de Castiella e de Estremadura asi como deximos. Por esso pudiera el rrey prender la mayor parte' (VC 578; 579 n. 6). Aengus Ward has argued that 'it is at the level of what may appear to be minor detail that the greatest and most significant alterations [of discourse] lie' (2011: 107) and this is such an example. The *Crónica de Castilla* innovates from previous texts in order to emphasise Castile's loss of territory: 'podiera el rey perder entonce la mayor parte de Castilla e de la Estremadura' (CC 266). The parallel between the minorities of Alfonso VIII and Fernando IV is clear. In the early years of her regency, María de Molina faced opposition from several members of the upper echelons of the nobility, which posed a threat to her son's reign. In the instability caused by Sancho IV's death, Prince Juan el de Tarifa, fourth son of Alfonso X, declared himself King of Leon. By April 1296, he and Alfonso de la Cerda had agreed that the kingdom should be divided between them, with de la Cerda claiming Castile. With the support of the Aragonese, Juan sought to solicit the support of Dennis of Portugal, leaving María de Molina isolated and threatened with the loss of the Kingdom, much like the circumstances of the early years of Alfonso VIII's minority.

Following the historiographic tradition originating in the *De rebus Hispaniae*, the *Crónica de Castilla* then narrates how the vengeful Manrique de Lara disinters the body of Gutierre Fernández de Castro in an attempt to gain the land now owned by his nephews, posthumously accusing the deceased magnate of treason. As Doubleday describes, 'the tale is in fact chronologically impossible; yet the ferocious competition for control of the king [...] was an important feature of this era' (2001: 36). González places this event before 1163, although Don Gutierre did not die before 1166 and in fact Manrique de Lara died in 1164 (1960 vol. I: 57).

## THE KING'S FLIGHT FROM SORIA

The conflict between the Lara and Castro dynasties grew to such an extent that Don Manrique had promised that the young Alfonso VIII would render homage to Fernando II of Leon. The magnate, the boy-king and Fernando II met in Soria, along with the court to witness the act of homage. Importantly, this act was stopped due to the loyalty of the people of Soria. The *Historia gothica* narrates that ‘cum que cum ipso rege Soriā peruenisset ut iuxta hominū regem puerum reciperet in uassallū, facto concilio Soriensi illi, quorum fidei rex tenellus fuerat deputatus, Amalrico comiti sic dixerunt: "Liberum uobis damus et liberum custodite"' (DRH VII XVI). The *Versión sanchina* is close to the Latin, though it loses the reference to *concilio*: ‘los de Soria, quando esto entendieron aquellos en cuya fialdad el rey don Alffonso ninnuelo fuera comendado, dixieron desta guisa al conde don Manrric: “Conde non Malrric, libre uso diemos el rey ninno, nuestro señor, et uos libre le guardad”’ (PCG 670). The *Versión crítica* adds a miniscule detail to their description, describing that ‘los omnes buenos a que el rrey fuera encomendado fezieron conçejo e dixieron asi el conde don Malric: he vos aquí vuestro señor, e damos vos le libre e syn premia ninguna’ (VC 578). The *Crónica de Castilla* also contains this reference to the *omnes buenos*: feçieron conçejo los de Soria e los omes buenos a que el rey fuera encomendado, e dixieron así al conde don Enrrique: “ahéuos aquí vuestro señor que nos distes, e dámosvoslo libre e quito sin premia nenguna, e uós asý lo guardat”’ (CC 267). The term *hombres buenos* is used to refer to the citizens of the towns and cities of Castile who went on to perform the functions of local *cortes* (see Izquierdo Bonito 2005: 5; Alvarez Díaz 1989: 233, and Carle 1964: 134; 138). The more overt reference to the council of Soria goes beyond the narrative of previous chronicles in order for María de Molina to maintain the future support of the *concejos*.

The protagonism of the *concejos*, made up of representatives from the towns of the Kingdom, is, as Rochwert-Zuili argues (2010: 29-33), a significant characteristic of the *Crónica de Castilla*. María de Molina used the third estate to strengthen her authority over the upper nobility; González Mínguez argues that the years 1282-1325 were a ‘classic moment’ in the assertion of the political role of the *concejos* and development of the *hermandades*, brotherhood associations consisting of armed men from a particular town (2000: 56). Indeed, the *Hermandades* of Castile, León and Galicia, and Extremadura were all confirmed at the *Cortes* of Valladolid in 1295, the first assembly of the minority of Fernando IV. So strong was the alliance between María de Molina and the *concejos* (or rather, so strong was the Queen’s need for their support) that the agreements reached at the *cortes* were only made by the representatives of the *concejos* (González Mínguez 1976: 37; Cf. CFIV 96). Notably, a group

in Palencia pronounced its support for Fernando IV against the pretensions to the throne of the Infante Juan in January 1296. In return for the military support of the third estate towards the King, the feudal *beneficium* was considerable. González Mínguez highlights a proclamation granting privileges to Palencia for ‘fazer bien e merced al conceyo de la muy noble ciudad de Palencia e por muchos servicios e buenos que fizieron a los Reyes onde vengo e facen agora a mi en esta guerra que me fazen el infante don Iuan, mio tio, e don Alfonso, fijo del infante don Fernando, e don Juan Nuñez, e otros ricos homes e otras gentes que son con ellos, que les mataron e les firieron los parientes en mio servicio’ (2000: 59). More drastically, at the Courts of Cuéllar in 1297, Fernando had to accept the creation of a permanent council of 12 ‘*hombre buenos*’ to advise the King, his mother and the Infante Enrique, his tutor, on all financial, judicial and government matters (ibid.: 61; 1976: 65). The tactics of María de Molina were successful and proved her skills as a negotiator. In this narrative, we see a new relationship being formed between the king and the *concejos* which, throughout the *Crónica de Castilla* depiction of the reign of Alfonso VIII, threatened the traditional union between king and nobleman and the role of the nobility in the legislature.

What follows has become the stuff of legend, and did probably originate from an oral source. It is, as Doubleday describes, a ‘swashbuckling narrative’ (2001: 37). As Linehan explains, ‘The king of Leon was foiled because his nephew was hungry. He wanted his supper and began to cry’ (2011: 27). The young Alfonso VIII was carried away by a loyal knight, Pedro Núñez de Fuentearmegil, who took flight with the king, hiding him under his cape, and delivered him safely to San Esteban de Gormaz that very night. The Lara brothers told the king they would go out and find the young king but Don Nuño went ahead of the other two and took Alfonso VIII on to Atienza, renouncing the promise Manrique had made to Fernando II. On learning of this, the Leonese king accused Manrique of being ‘perjuro e desleal’ and ‘desleal e traydor e desnostól’ (CC 267). However, the chronicler argues Manrique’s innocence, stating that his only action was ‘librar su señor de seruiçio’ (ibid.). In defence of his actions before Fernando II and his court, Don Manrique ‘libraría a su señor de seruidunbre, e que tomase en el su cuerpo qual vengança quisiese, ca él nunca le daría su señor nin fería ende en consejo’ (ibid.). Following this, the King demands counsel and Fernando Rodríguez de Castro replies:

“De derecho non le podedes prender nin decir mal al conde don Enrique por esta razón: ca él guardó lo que debía. E non le podedes ál decir synon fizo byen e derecho e lealtad. E non tengades más ojo por aver el rey, ca lealtat de castellanos vos lo an tollido”

Entonçe todos los de la corte tovieron por bien quanto dixiera Fernán Ruyz. E el rey por esto dyolo por quito del omenaje que le feçiera el conde don Enrrique (CC 268).

This episode, and the dialogue between Manrique Pérez de Lara, Fernando Rodríguez de Castro and the King is an extremely significant part of the depiction of the noble classes in the minority of Alfonso VIII. Once again, the role of the nobility and the concept of giving advice is emphasised in the *Crónica de Castilla*. The *De rebus Hispaniae* concludes its narration of this episode by simply stating ‘ad hec omnium iuditio est ab imposito crimine absolutus’ (*DRH* VII. XVI). The *Versión amplificada* expands on the Toledano, explicitly stating that Manrique had been absolved ‘por juyçio de toda la Corte’ (*PCG* 670). The episode is also the first time that Fernando Rodríguez, known as *el Castellano* is named, although he appears two chapters previously as the nephew of Gutierre Fernández de Castro in his confrontation with the Lara brothers. Fernán Ruyz, as he is known in the text, was one of the Castilian defectors which the chronicle blamed for the problems faced by the kingdom at the start of Alfonso VIII’s reign and went on to become Fernando II’s *mayordomo mayor*<sup>25</sup> (Martínez Díez 2007: 29-30). It is surprising, therefore, that Fernando Rodríguez de Castro admires his rival’s declaration of loyalty to the Castilian king, when it appears that by his vassalage to Fernando II, it appears that Fernando Rodríguez de Castro is disloyal to Alfonso VIII. It is more surprising still that Fernando Rodríguez de Castro exalts the loyalty of Manrique de Lara, given the rivalry between their two noble houses. This demonstrates the clear importance of loyalty which the chronicler attaches to the nobility in the *Crónica de Castilla*.

The *Crónica de Castilla* also contains an interesting addition which is not found in previous accounts: that Manrique de Lara had been freed of all vassalage to Fernando II. Historically, this was not the case. Manrique is documented witnessing several diplomas issuing from the Leonese royal chancery between 26 October 1162 and 4 October 1163 (Doubleday 2001: 147 n. 47) and he and his brothers, together with members of the house of Castro accompanied Fernando II to Burgos, apparently reconciled (Martínez Díez 2007: 31; cf. González 1943: 371). This section of narrative demonstrates that the chronicler prioritises the concept of *naturaleza* over feudal vassalage. In turn, Manrique Pérez de Lara’ became what Arenas López describes as the most shining example of vassallic or ministerial loyalty in the whole course of Spanish history (Arenas López 1928: 201). The episode complicates the earlier portrayal of the Lara brothers in the *Crónica de Castilla*. Whereas they were seen by the Sorians

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<sup>25</sup> The title of *mayordomo* was given to the ‘chief among the officials who served in the royal household (Barton 1997: 142). See also Golzález 1960 I: 239-243, who gives details of the *mayordomos* to Alfonso VIII.

as betraying Alfonso VIII, Manrique is now praised for his loyalty towards him. This also introduces a conflict between the nobility and members of the *concejos*, and the delicate task which the chronicler performs in balancing the portrayal of the three estates in the *Crónica de Castilla*. This conflict will resurface when questions of loyalty to the king arise in further chapters of the *Crónica de Castilla*, notably at the Battles of Alarcos and Las Navas de Tolosa but also during the assembly at Burgos in 1188.

## THE BATTLE OF HUETE

In the following two chapters of the *Crónica de Castilla*, Manrique de Lara's death is narrated during the Battle of Huete. This marks a deviation from the narrative of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, who continues the narration of Alfonso VIII's minority with the Battle of Lobregal (1160) (*DRH* VII.XXII). The Lara clan suffer a heavy defeat against Fernando Rodríguez de Castro, who had been recently forced into exile in León. During the battle, Fernando Rodríguez kills Álvaro Gutiérrez and takes Nuño Pérez de Lara and Rodrigo Gutiérrez prisoner. This episode is not included in the *Versión sanchina*, which is a translation of the *De rebus Hispaniae*. Rather, Bautista argues that the episode which is contained in the Toledano is complemented by new episodes from the minority of Alfonso VIII of an unknown origin, including the Battle of Huete (1164) (2014: 90) to form the narrative of the *Crónica de Castilla*. Funes (2015: 5) echoes Bautista's argument, identifying both the battle and the death of Don Manrique as a purely anecdotal tale of legendary origin. The *Crónica de Castilla* narrates that when Fernando II of León could not have the young king as his vassal, he returned to his own kingdom, taking more territory as he went. Martínez Díez states that 'Fernando II era reconocido como regente en toda la Trasierra desde Toledo hasta Zorita y Huete' (2007: 33). The chronicler, following the discursive tradition of the Toledano, tells how Alfonso VIII 'era segudado commo si fuse culpado de la muerte, e deseredado commo si de derecho non toviese de heredar, o commo sy non fuese nieto del emperador, fijo de su fijo mayor que deuiera de heredar enteramente a Castilla e León' (CC 268).

The *Crónica de Castilla* narrates how the Lara clan entered the Transierra, first to Zorita, then moving on to Huete which was held by Fernando Rodríguez de Castro. The *Crónica de Castilla* states that the Lara brothers sought to gain control of Huete but de Castro defended himself by the fact that Sancho III ordered that he should not cede his territory until Alfonso VIII was fifteen years old. Manrique de Lara, defying the decree ordered by his

previous lord, attacked Fernando Rodríguez' forces on 21 June 1164.<sup>26</sup> According to the chronicler, Manrique began the battle and went in search of Fernando Rodríguez. The latter had swapped his armour with another of his knights so as not to be identified by his enemy. Manrique's relentlessness to find Fernando Rodríguez de Castro is recounted, and upon finding the knight bearing the arms of Castro 'diole tal lançada que non le touo por las armas que tenía, e dio con el muerte en tierra' (ibid.). When he believes that he had killed his enemy, Manrique exclaims '¡Ferildos, que muerto es don Fernán Ruyz!' (ibid.), only for Fernando Rodríguez to appear, pronouncing that he is alive. Then he stabs Manrique de Lara until he falls to the ground. With his dying breath, Don Manrique shouts '¡Artero, artero mas non buen cauallero!' and before he can get to his feet, the count dies.

This account in the *Crónica de Castilla*, similar to that of the *Versión crítica*, displays the unknightly behaviour of both Manrique Pérez de Lara and Fernando Rodríguez de Castro. Not only does Manrique ignore the instruction given by Sancho III before his death, Bautista explains that Don Manrique is also presented as *desmesurado* in his eagerness to start the battle and his willingness to seek out conflict (2014: 93). *Mesura* (restraint), along with *cordura* (good sense), *fortaleza* (strength), and *justicia* (justice), is one of the four virtues which Alfonso X marks out as the greatest qualities a knight should display (*SP* II. XXI. IV). The Cid is famously depicted as possessing this quality during the famous episode of the lion (*CMC* 2292-2301) or when he welcomes the challenge of his exile instead of cursing his enemies: 'habló mio Cid bien y tan mesurado / - ¡gracias a ti, Señor, Padre que estás en lo alto! / ¡Esto me han urdido mis enemigos malos!' (*PMC* 7-9).<sup>27</sup> *Mesura* is also an important aspect of Don Juan Manuel's writing. In the XXVII Example of *El Conde Lucanor*, Minaya Alvar Háneiz is presented in a better light than the emperor because he takes time over deciding who to marry (Bleuca 1983: 219-246). He is more reflexive so he makes better decisions (Cardino 2000). Bautista argues that Fernando Rodríguez is not condemned by the narrative. Rather, his act was legitimate as it contributed to his defence in a battle he had not initiated (2014: 92-93). However, Bautista's defence of Fernando Rodríguez is based on the *Versión crítica*'s narrative,

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<sup>26</sup> A copy of the *Becerro Mayor de Aguilar de Campoo* dates the battle as starting on 11 July 1164, though the *Annales Toledanos* give the date of Manrique de Lara's death as 9 July (I. 139). Sánchez de Mora (2003: 148 n. 130) blames an error of transcription for the confusion. Cf. González (1960 vol. 1: 169 n. 119).

<sup>27</sup> Menéndez Pidal first noted the importance of *mesura* in his edition of the *Poema de Mio Cid*: Se acierta a poetizar hondamente en el héroe el decoro absoluto, la medida constante, el respeto a aquellas instituciones sociales y políticas que pudieran coartar la energía heroica [...] El héroe aparece revestido de elevación moral y de imponente medida: la lucha de dos pueblos y dos religiones se consuma con la mayor energía y tolerancia (1913: 74; 77). Cf. Mallorquí Ruscalleda (2001).



which includes an episode where before the battle, one of the Castro clan's knights enters the field and is knocked to the ground and is engulfed by it, which Fernando Rodríguez interprets as a positive sign, although his soldiers see it as a bad omen. It is this episode which Menéndez Pidal first likened to the legendary Battle of Hacinas in the *Poema de Fernán González* (1980: 71; Cf. Bautista 2014: 93). According to the epic poem, one of the Christian troops prematurely entered the battle 'e abrio s'con el la tierra e somio se el cavelero' (Menéndez Pidal 1980: 71), much like the *Versión crítica*'s account, which tells of how Fernando Rodríguez' soldier 'yendo corriendo, somiose el cauallero con el so la tierra' (*Versión crítica* 580). The few lines which narrate this episode highlight the Battle's legendary origins, though its omission in the *Crónica de Castilla* could indicate how the author sought to anchor the tale in reality, and eliminate the improbable, in a similar way that Beltrán argues that the *Cantar de Mio Cid* is always characterised in the feasible (2019).<sup>28</sup> Rather than include this dubious episode, which could be seen as a distraction to, or even a subversion of, the authenticity the narrative, the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* focusses on the behaviour of the conflicting noblemen, offering an example of the chivalric behaviour that Hijano argues is linked to the post-Alfonsine tradition's novelistic narrative (2006: 141).

Fernando Rodríguez de Castro's deception of Manrique de Lara is undoubtedly a devious and unchivalrous action. In changing his arms, not only was he displaying his dishonesty and trickery in battle, but *el Castellano* also represented a lack of loyalty to his forebears, whose arms he inherited. The *Segunda Partida* states how a good knight must 'guardar honra de su linaje' (*SP* II.XXI.IX) but, in this action Fernando Rodríguez defies this rule of the Alfonsine chivalric code once again. Indeed, Don Manrique explicitly challenges his rival, with the line 'artero, artero, mas non buen cauallero' (*CC* 268). This line can be considered to be the climax of the conflict between the Lara and Castro clans, and is the only point in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of Alfonso VIII's minority when one nobleman slanders his rival in such an overt way and it is made more emphatic by the use of dialogue. By attributing the characteristic of deviousness to Fernando Rodríguez, the *Crónica de Castilla* appears to vindicate slightly the Lara clan, who, until this point were the only members of the nobility to be given this description. Without *Versión crítica*'s supposed defence of Fernando Rodríguez in the *Crónica de Castilla*, he is portrayed as unchivalric, and his trickery is described as being borne out of cowardice 'con miedo de la lança del conde don Enrrique' (*CC*

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<sup>28</sup> He argues that the only episode that could be considered fantastic, the appearance and prophetic words of the archangel Gabriel (vv. 404-10), is plausibly produced in the Cid's dreams (2019).

268), which also violates the Alfonsine depiction of a good knight. This proves that the *Crónica de Castilla* does not show favour to either side in the battle, portraying both Lara and Castro clans as unchivalrous and offering an *exemplo* of how a nobleman should not behave.

In contrast with the *Versión crítica*, whose narration of the Battle of Húete concludes with Nuño Pérez de Lara and García González retreating to Zorita with the young Alfonso VIII, in the *Crónica de Castilla* Don Nuño is taken prisoner. Cirot (1926: 250-251) argues that this version does not correspond to the original story, but is an invention of the author of the *Crónica*. Bautista further argues that the chronicler supplants part of the Toledano's narration of the Battle of Lobregal, creating what the scholar calls 'un díptico eficaz desde un punto de vista literario, pero sin fundamento histórico' (2014: 92 n. 9) in order to once again demonstrate the deviousness of Don Nuño Pérez. In the *Crónica de Castilla*, Nuño manages to escape from Fernando Rodríguez de Castro's imprisonment by promising to return and render homage to him after Nuño de Lara had buried his brother Manrique. By never burying his brother, so the text explains, Don Nuño did not have to return to Fernando Rodríguez. The slight vindication given to the Lara clan in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of the Battle of Húete, by the text's negative portrayal of Fernando Rodríguez de Castro is undone in the chapter which describes Don Nuño's devious trickery of his enemy.

The death of Manrique also marks an end to the early period of Alfonso VIII's minority. The *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative is particularly striking considering that the young king was now without his guardian, Manrique Perez de Lara (Sánchez de Mora 2003: 151), and his brother Don Nuño had been taken prisoner for some time. However, the knights of Ávila 'reçebieron bien a su señor e gozárónse con él' (CC 269). At a time when Alfonso's supporters were taken from him, these loyal vassals immediately protected him and, three years later, accompanied him on his quest to regain the territory he had lost to Fernando II. Bautista marks this as one of the arguments against the *Crónica de Castilla*'s descendance from a *\*Historia nobiliaria*, as an example of the collaboration between king and nobility, rather than conflict (2014: 98) and demonstrates the importance which the *Crónica de Castilla* places on loyalty based on *naturaleza*.

## THE SEIGE OF ZORITA

The following two chapters of the *Crónica de Castilla* narrate Alfonso VIII's siege of Zorita and conclude the section of the chronicle which narrates the King's minority. Continuing his recuperation of the Kingdom, Alfonso had appointed Nuño Pérez de Lara as his regent, after

the death of his brother, Don Manrique. Now ten years old, the King had begun accompanying his loyal army throughout the Kingdom in order to reconsolidate his authority. The recuperation of Toledo, the spiritual capital of Castile, was a decisive victory for the Castilians, though the strategic towns of Zorita and Huete still remained under Castro control. Martínez Díez argues that the capture of Toledo by forces loyal to Alfonso VIII marked the beginning of the fall of Fernando Rodríguez de Castro (2007: 36). Leaving the Leonese court to focus on defending his lands in Castile, Fernando Rodríguez was replaced in Leon by Ponce de Minerva. Don Ponce was granted the *torres* of León and the title of *mayordomo* in November 1166. However, he left the service of Fernando II in 1168 and entered the Castilian court. González notes that the last documentary evidence of Don Ponce in Leon was on 4 March and he appeared in the Castilian court in Sahagún on 29 August (1960 I: 178). Martínez Díez describes that Nuño Pérez de Lara organised an assault on the town of Zorita, which was held by a vassal of Fernando Rodríguez de Castro, in April 1169 (2007: 37).

The *Crónica de Castilla* narrates that Lope de Arenas, who held Zorita, had defended the town well and had a large supply of arms and food. With the town besieged and not wanting to fight given the strength of Lope de Arenas' defences, Alfonso VIII sent Nuño Pérez de Lara and Ponce de Minerva (whom the *Crónica de Castilla* names Don Huster) to parley with Lope de Arenas. However, after entering the castle, the noblemen were imprisoned by its defenders. González cites a document which describes the noblemen's imprisonment and dates the episode to between 25 April and 5 May 1169 (González 1960 I: 178; Cf II 196-205). The *Crónica de Castilla* adds small, yet significant, details to the young King's reaction to the capture of his two loyal counts, which affect the narrative of the following chapter. The *Crónica de Castilla* describes how Alfonso VIII 'mandase entrar en el castillo al conde don Nuño o al conde don Huster, o con quien fablase su pletesía. E los condes entraron allá, mas luego fueron presos e bien recabdados, e el rey muy amañcellado por los condes e por el escarnio grande que reçebiera de Lope de Arenas' (CC 269). The King's respect for the counts demonstrates the trust he placed in them with the mission of entering Zorita. The dishonour he then feels, demonstrated by the adjective 'amañcellado', is primarily due to the counts' capture, as well as the ridicule caused to him by Lope de Arenas. The shame which Don Nuño particularly caused to the King by being captured may be a reason that he advised Alfonso VIII to reward Lope Díaz de Haro in the following chapter, despite his hatred of him, but also reflects the animosity felt by the chronicler towards the Lara clan.

Although the episode of the Siege of Zorita is not related in the *Historia gothica*, nor in the *Versión sanchina*, the first section of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative is evidenced in documents highlighted by Julio González (as discussed above). However, the narrative which follows is entirely novel to the *Crónica de Castilla* and the *Versión crítica*, and is also contained in the posterior *Crónica Manuelina* and *Crónica de 1344*, inferring that it was contained in the Alfonsine archetype of these texts. The tale goes that Dominguillo, a Zoriciano, left the castle and approached King Alfonso, asking for mercy in exchange for telling the king a way by which he may enter the castle. Dominguillo explained that if he could injure a member of the King's entourage and tell Lope de Arenas that he had killed a loyal vassal of the King, his master would trust him more than anyone and he would be able to hand the castle to the King. A loyal vassal from Toledo, Pedro Díez volunteered to be wounded if it meant that Alfonso VIII could successfully capture Zorita. Dominguillo stabbed him with a blunt knife, in order that Pedro Díez would not be seriously injured, and ran towards the castle. On entering Zorita, he explained to Lope de Arenas that he had killed one of the King's loyal vassals who was plotting to kill him. In return for this deed, Lope de Arenas rewarded Dominguillo by making him captain of the castle guards. One day, while Lope de Arenas was being shaved, Dominguillo entered his chamber armed with a short spear and stabbed him to death. Escaping the castle and returning to Alfonso VIII, Dominguillo told him that Lope de Arenas was dead and, shortly afterwards, a nephew of the deceased nobleman surrendered Zorita to the King. The Dominguillo narrative is significant in demonstrating the Molinist ideology of the *Crónica de Castilla*. Georges Cirot, in his analysis of the episode, first alluded to the similarity between the character of Dominguillo and that of Vellido Dolfos from the epic tale of the siege of Zamora (1927: 339. Cf Funes 2015: 7).<sup>29</sup> This oral narrative would have been known by the intended readership of the text and alluding to it was a way for the chronicler to display how the bond of *naturaleza* between Dominguillo and the king was given greater importance than the feudal bonds which existed between Dominguillo and Lope de Arenas.

Once the siege had ended, Lope Díaz de Haro prepared to leave with his vassals but Don Nuño advised the King to reward him for his service. This is surprising considering the rivalry which existed between the heads of the houses of Lara and Haro. Indeed, the *Crónica de Castilla* notes that Lope Díaz de Haro was not present at the beginning of the siege because Don Nuño 'lo desamaa' (CC 269), though on learning of the siege, he readily came to the

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<sup>29</sup> For a reconstruction of the epic *Cantar del cerco de Zamora*, see Alvar 1991: 301-170 and *Revista Katharsis* 2019: 3-10.

Alfonso VIII's aid. Nuño de Lara therefore believes that the feudal exchange between the King and Lope Díaz must be fulfilled: '-Señor, el conde don Lope vino aquí en vuestro seruiçio muy bien guisado e agora vaze. Conviene que le galardonedes el gran seruiçio que vos ha fecho sin que lo vós llamásedes para ello' (CC 270). Accepting Don Nuño's advice, Alfonso VIII tries to give Lope Díaz more land as *beneficium*: 'E quiero que tengades de mí más tierra que fasta aquí tenedes' (ibid.). When Alfonso tries to reward Lope Díaz, the nobleman refuses any *beneficium*, arguing that it was his duty to give service to his King but that the next time he offered his service to the King, he would accept a reward:

Señor, mucho vos agradezco quanto me querades dar, mas en mayor merçed vos tengo porque me conosçedes el seruiçio que vos fize. E yo, señor, para el vuestro seruiçio non deuo ser llamado, ca el derecho llama a todo leal vasallo quando su señor lo ha mester para su seruiçio. E yo, señor, non vine acá por leuar pecho de uós mas por guardar mi derecho. (CC 270)

The interactions between Don Nuño and Don Lope and Alfonso VIII are important factors in determining the *Crónica de Castilla*'s place in the development of the representation of chivalry. They are, as Francisco Bautista describes, a 'pequeño espejo de príncipes y nobles' which demonstrate model behaviours of the nobility (2014: 94). Though the character of Don Nuño Pérez de Lara recognises that a feudal exchange should take place, Lope Díaz argues that the bonds of *naturaleza* are stronger than any tie of service and benefit and that he did not expect any reward for his loyal actions. The repercussions for the members of the nobility during the reign of Fernando IV were clear: they should take heed of the example of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s depiction of Lope Díaz de Haro and offer their service to María de Molina and the young king Fernando IV due to a sense of natural loyalty towards them, emphasising *naturaleza* but recognising that in order to secure the loyalty of the nobility it may be necessary to offer a *beneficium* to the noblemen, particularly a reduction in the taxes and rents they owed for their land (see González Mínguez 2000: 45-46).

## CONCLUSIONS

The protagonism of the nobility in these episodes from the *Crónica de Castilla*'s description of the minority of Alfonso VIII can be seen as a series of examples (*exiemplos*), which are a common trait of Molinist texts and used to reinforce the political ideas of the author (Gómez Redondo 2012: 79). The model relationship between the king and the nobility is based on the idea of a loyal vassal who carries out his duties to his lord through a sense of *naturaleza* towards him. This can be seen in the text's depiction of the noblemen who defected to the King of Leon

and the loyalty of the citizens of Soria. When there is a conflict between the Alfonsine concept of *naturaleza* and the Manueline idea that the relationship between monarch and nobleman should be based on the feudal exchange of service and reward, *naturaleza* always takes precedent. This can be seen in the recognition by Fernando Rodríguez de Castro that Manrique acted correctly by prioritising his loyalty towards Alfonso VIII rather than Fernando II at Soria and by Dominguillo, who betrayed his feudal lord, Lope de Arenas, in order to support Alfonso VIII. Finally, despite the rivalry between Nuño de Lara and Lope Díaz de Haro, the former advises that the king reward the latter for his service, but Lope Díaz explains that he serves the King through natural loyalty and rejects the feudal exchange of *servitium* and *beneficium* which Alfonso VIII offers him on the advice of Nuño Pérez de Lara. However, by including Alfonso VIII's willingness to reward Lope Díaz for his service, the chronicler shows that María de Molina too was willing to reward those noblemen who were loyal to her. This shall be discussed further in chapter three of this thesis.

Furthermore, the *Crónica de Castilla* provides an image of the unknighly behaviour of certain members of the nobility during its narration of the minority of Alfonso VIII. The deviousness of the Lara brothers towards Gutierre de Castro and Nuño Pérez de Lara's devious escape from the imprisonment of Fernando Rodríguez de Castro highlight the animosity felt towards Juan Núñez de Lara by the author and the patron of the *Crónica de Castilla* due to his disloyalty shown towards María de Molina during her regency. However, Fernando Rodríguez de Castro also uses trickery to defeat Manrique de Lara in the Battle of Huete, which demonstrates that the *Crónica de Castilla* does not necessarily favour one noble house over the other. Indeed, it uses these episodes to portray an image of unchivalrous behaviour which the chronicler ultimately condemns in all cases. In addition, as Bautista notes, the *Crónica de Castilla* demonstrates the importance of giving 'buen consejo' (2014: 94), exemplified by Fernando Rodríguez de Castro's advice to Fernando II that he absolve Manrique Pérez de Lara in Soria and by Nuño Pérez de Lara after the Siege of Zorita. Giving good council is a trait which was prized by María de Molina (the *Libro del consejo y de los consejeros* was a Molinist text written to update the *Segunda Partida* (see Gómez Redondo 1998: 950)) and is exalted in the *Crónica de Castilla*.

The *Crónica de Castilla* also introduces a conflict between the upper nobility and the *concejos*, both of whom the chronicle seeks to appease. This reflects María de Molina's need of the support of the *caballeros villanos*. The loyalty of the council of Soria enabled Alfonso VIII to escape from vassalage to the King of Leon, and Manrique de Lara is considered by

them to be a traitor. However, he is later shown to be a loyal vassal to the king, which demonstrates a sense of superiority of the nobility over the representatives of the towns. This conflict, introduced in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of the minority of Alfonso VIII continues throughout its depiction of his reign and culminates at the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, which will be discussed in chapter four of this thesis.

The minority of Alfonso VIII serves as a way for the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* to introduce these themes to the narrative in such a way that it allows the reader to use the episodes featuring the nobility as a reference point for the narrative which follows throughout the Alfonso VIII's reign. The episodic use of *exemplos* which highlight the good and bad behaviours and qualities which the members of the nobility portray allows the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* to create a narrative structure. This structure consists of internal references to other parts of the narrative which allow the reader to witness the development of the portrayal of the model vassal and the ideal union between king and nobleman which the *Crónica de Castilla* presents.

## CHAPTER II

### THE PLANTAGENET AND THE JEWESS: THE MOLINIST PORTRAYAL OF WOMEN AND QUEENSHIP

The *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of Alfonso VIII's minority, with its troubled description of the strife between rival noble clans, the struggle for power between factions of the nobility and the King, and the conflict between the Kingdom of Castile and the Leonese occupiers ends with a positive conclusion after the magnates of the Kingdom submit to the now adult King. The parallels established in the previous chapter of this thesis between the interregnums at the start of Alfonso VIII and Fernando IV's reigns continue to be significant in this chapter, but the focus of textual analysis will shift from the chivalric codes which demonstrate part of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s ideology. Rather, this chapter will demonstrate how the Queen Regent used the *Crónica de Castilla* to fortify her own authority and the legitimacy of Fernando IV's succession to the crown, and how her skills of negotiation with her contemporary noble class allowed her to gain the support she needed. This is achieved in the *Crónica de Castilla* through the practice of resemblance, or reflecting relations of similarity or equivalence between things, in order to provide a foundation for a text's argument (Foucault 1966/1970: xxvi). This practice 'largely guided exegesis and the interpretation of texts' until the end of the sixteenth century (Foucault 1966/1970: 17). Indeed, by drawing on parallels from history, María de Molina was able to align herself with successful political figures and gain control over the turbulent political circumstances of her day.

The two chapters of the *Crónica de Castilla* which follow the minority of Alfonso VIII break the structural and narrative traditions of previous chronicle texts and incorporate legendary material of disputed origin (see Hijano 2014: 36). This chapter will argue that the chronicler uses these legends to reinforce the Molinist ideology of the text and to form part of an important dramatic arc in the section of narrative relating to Alfonso VIII. These chapters of the text are



also significant in that they portray two women who, according to historical documentation, historiographical texts and legendary narrative, greatly influenced Alfonso VIII's reign and its textual representation, and who have had a profound impact on the Kingdom of Castile's cultural, political and social history. Queen Leonor, the wife of Alfonso VIII, is mentioned in the *Crónica de Castilla* on three occasions, a seemingly small number considering her important political and cultural role in the Court (see Cerda 2012 and 2013), but in light of her absence from the *Crónica*'s hipotexts, even her minor inclusion is important. The first chapter of the text to include the Queen narrates her marriage to Alfonso VIII and her familial heritage. The second describes the royal children and the founding of the Abbey of Santa María de las Huelgas in Burgos, while the third briefly describes Leonor after Alfonso VIII's death and her own death shortly after. The second woman whose textual depiction will be analysed is the infamous Jewess of Toledo. The chapter including the 'Episode of the Jewess' forms a short narrative bloc immediately following the marriage of the King and Queen and is perhaps one of the most important episodes of legendary origin in the text.<sup>30</sup> The marriage of Leonor and Alfonso VIII, the episode of the Jewess of Toledo and the foundation of the Abbey at Las Huelgas also form part of a narrative structure in the *Crónica de Castilla* based on ideas of fall and redemption, as Arizaleta and Jean-Marie have argued (2006: 8). A U-shaped structure can be formed based on Northrup Frye's theory: 'This U-shaped pattern [...] recurs in literature as the standard shape of comedy, where a series of misfortunes and misunderstandings brings the action to a threateningly low point, after which some fortunate twist in the plot sends the conclusion up to a happy ending' (1982: 169). However, rather than this structure just relating the rise and fall of the figure of Alfonso VIII, it can also be applied to the portrayal of the relationship between the King and the nobility throughout his reign.

## THE ASSEMBLY AT BURGOS

The marriage of Leonor of England to Alfonso VIII is not chronicled in the *De rebus Hispaniae* or the *Versión sanchina* of the *Estoria de España*. While Funes (2000; 2015) believes that this narrative is based on a lost *\*Historia nobiliara* (as previously discussed), Hijano Villegas argues that the episode is part of a series of narrative nuclei<sup>31</sup> common to both the *Crónica*

<sup>30</sup> It is this episode of the Jewess of Toledo which opens González' chapter on legendary episodes pertaining to Alfonso VIII's reign (1960 I: 26-42).

<sup>31</sup> The six narrative nuclei which Hijano Villegas describes are: (a) the young King's stay in Ávila and his personal guard of one hundred and fifty knights; (b) the Battle of Huetes; (c) the Siege of Zorita and the death of Lope de Arenas; (d) the *Cortes* of Toledo, the marriage agreement between the Castilians and English and the wedding of Alfonso and Leonor; (e) sons and daughters of the royal marriage and; (f) brothers and sisters of the Queen (2014: 34).

*manuelina* and an \**Antecesor perdido*, a lost Alfonsine work which is not contained in the *Versión amplificada* but is a paratext of the *Estoria de España* (Hijano Villegas 2014: 33-34) and a hipotext of the *Crónica de Castilla*. The *Crónica de Castilla* opens this section of narrative by combining two of these narrative nuclei: the *Cortes* of Burgos and the marriage of Alfonso VIII; and his Queen's ancestry, including details of her siblings.

The combination of these two nuclei is fundamental in revealing the *Crónica de Castilla*'s Molinist ideology because it demonstrates the protagonism of the nobility in deciding matters of state. Before analysing the text's description of events, however, it is first necessary to examine the *Crónica de Castilla*'s use of the word *corte* (CC 271; VC 584), which is generally translated as 'court'. However, an important distinction must be made between the English understanding of the word and the Latin *curia* in order to identify the subtle Molinist ideology of the text. As Cerda (2011) establishes, the twelfth-century court was the 'body of regular advisors permanently close to the king' whereas the *curia* was a 'large assembly summoned by the king to discuss important matters with the nobility of the kingdom' (61 n. 1). Although both the *De rebus Hispaniae* and the charters found in González (1960 II) refer to such assemblies as *curiae*, Cerda (2010: 63-64) notes that the vernacular texts use the term *cortes*.<sup>32</sup> Documentary evidence of the assembly (González 1960 II: 212) describes it as Alfonso's first *curia* ('primum curiam tenuit'), which implies that it was, indeed, a large gathering of noblemen. It is possible but has been debated whether the *Curia* of Burgos is the oldest origin of a Parliament in the Iberian Peninsula (see Cerda 2010: 62) because the presence of the citizens and urban councils of the kingdom has been contested. Martínez Marina (1813: 138-139 & 1966: 64) and García Rámila (1925: 93), who argue for the presence of the citizens, base their evidence primarily on the recollection of the *Crónica ocampiana*, though Cerda identifies that the *Versión crítica* also narrates the presence of the members of the *concejos* (2011: 66). The documentary evidence found in González (1960 II) does not account for the presence of the citizens, however. It states only that the council was made up of noblemen and clergymen: 'consilio et prelatorum sancte ecclesie et principum regni nostri'(211), as was the case in England until De Montfort's second parliament in 1252. Moreover, the list of witnesses to the signing of the charter does not include representatives of the towns and cities. Martínez Díez (1988-1990: 134, 136-137) uses this evidence in his argument against the participation of citizens in the *curia*, in addition to the fact that 'the incorporation of urban representatives was too revolutionary an event to be the initiative of a fourteen year old monarch in his first

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<sup>32</sup> See, for example, the description of the *Curia* of Carrión de los Condes (*DRH* 246-247; *PCG* 677).

territorial assembly and after more than ten years of a minority' (Cerde 2011: 66). Rather than comment on the historicity of the inclusion of the citizens, I shall focus on the significance of their inclusion in the narrative of the *Crónica de Castilla*, which has not yet been commented on by historians.<sup>33</sup>

The *Crónica de Castilla* describes how 'muy grandes gentes de condes e ricos omes e de perlados, e de otros omnes onrrados' were present at the *curia*. Although Rochwert-Zuili's edition of the *Crónica de Castilla* does not overtly refer to the 'omnes onrrados' as belonging to urban councils or as citizens from assemblies, Lorenzo's edition of the Gallego-Portuguese edition includes the more precise title 'omēs boos dos concellos' (1975: 715). This description is similar to the *Versión crítica*'s depiction of events, which narrates that 'ovo muchos rricos omnes e ynfançones e caualleros e de los mas honrrados omes de los conçejos que fueron y llamados (VC 584). The *\*Historia menos atajante* in the *Crónica Manuelina* seems to combine the narrative contained in the *Versión crítica* and the *Crónica de Castilla*, describing how 'los condes et los rricos omes et los perlados et los cavalleros et çibdadanos et muchos grandes de los otros de la tierra fueron y ayuntados' (fol. 165r), while the *Crónica de 1344* narrates that 'todollos altos homēes de seu senhorio e outrossy os prellados e homēes boōs dos concelhos' (C1344: 280-281). From reconstructing the post-Alfonsine chronicles' hipotext, it can be asserted that the assembly was indeed made up of all three estates (the clergy, nobility and burghers).<sup>34</sup> That the *Crónica de Castilla* includes representatives from the third estate in its description of the *curia* is significant in asserting the Molinist ideology of the text. An interesting distinction between the account of the *Versión crítica* and that of the *Crónica de Castilla*, which otherwise almost read identically, is that, in the *Crónica de Castilla*, the higher rank of *Conde* is described, whereas the *Versión crítica*'s narration includes members of the lower nobility, such as *infanzones* and *caballeros*. During the Middle Ages, particularly in the thirteenth century, there was a great conflict between the upper and lower nobility which was famously depicted by the rivalry between the Cid (an *infanzón*) and the Condes de Carrión in the epic poem.<sup>35</sup> The *Versión crítica* reflects Alfonso X's policy of amplifying the lower

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<sup>33</sup> This may be due to the fact that the *Crónica de Castilla* was published more recently than the *Crónica de veinte reyes*, though Cerde notes that the assemblies of Alfonso VIII have not been afforded 'proper historical study in recent years' (2011: 62). In addition to his own work on the assemblies of Alfonso VIII, Cerde cites Pérez-Prendes (1974), O'Callaghan (1981), Procter (1980), Martínez Díez (1988-1990) and Fuentes-Ganzo and Martín (2002) as the most significant studies of such events.

<sup>34</sup> For an outline of medieval Castilian thought on the three estates, see Stefano (1962: 330-337) and Don Juan Manuel's ideology on the social orders (337-354).

<sup>35</sup> This conflict is particularly prevalent during the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of the Battles of Alarcos and Las Navas de Tolosa, (see chapter four of this thesis).

nobility's influence and diminishing their social and political limitations (Sánchez Saus 2015: 180). The rhetorical creation of the knightly class is, as Rodríguez Velasco argues, an invention of Alfonso X (2014: XI) which aided him in enforcing his own political ideology across the Kingdom of Castile. Alfonso *el Sabio*'s implementation of the *Fuero Real* – his first legal masterpiece, written between 1254 and 1256 – was intended to replace the local *fueros* of the Kingdom, and was an early form of his centralist monarchic ideology (see Iglesia Ferreiros 1980 and Craddock 1981). By expanding the privileges of the lower nobility and allying himself with them, Alfonso X was able to enforce his centralised laws in all parts of his kingdom thanks to their cooperation in towns and villages (Sánchez Saus 2015: 185). The seemingly active decision of the Alfonsine chroniclers to manipulate the source in order to exclude the higher nobility and to highlight the *infanzones* and *caballeros* may also be the royal scriptorium's reaction to the noble uprising between 1272 and 1273 (see Escalona 2002). The *Crónica de Castilla*, on the other hand, highlights the upper nobility, reflecting María de Molina's practice of appeasing the magnates whose political support she tried to obtain. As González Mínguez describes, during the minority of Fernando IV, the aristocracy acted in their own personal interests, not always in line with royal policies (2004: 238). They were, as Bergqvist writes, 'power hungry instigators of disunity and discord within the realm and between its social segments and political actors' (2013: 63-64).<sup>36</sup> In a way, the *Crónica de Castilla* also gives equal standing to members of the lower nobility and representatives of the towns and burgesses in the political decision-making of the kingdom, due to María de Molina's need for their support in the early years of her regency. This episode balances the portrayal of the nobility and members of the *concejo* as described in the previous chapter as now, both parties' loyalty has been demonstrated.

Moreover, the inclusion of the *perlados*, who are absent in the *Versión crítica* yet listed in the witnesses to charters made at the *Curia*,<sup>37</sup> is another example of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s Molinist ideology. Religious orthodoxy and the primacy of the See of Toledo is a common feature of the Molinist group of texts (Gómez Redondo 2012: 55-58). Furthermore, it disproves the argument held by Diego Catalán (2000: 76) that the *Crónica de Castilla* is the chronicle least affiliated with the ecclesiastical hierarchies, which is an important aspect of the argument in favour of the *\*Historia nobiliaria*. Indeed, the Archbishop of Toledo, Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel had been Sancho IV's Chancellor and closest advisor, and would continue to be close to the

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<sup>36</sup> See also González Mínguez (1999).

<sup>37</sup> González 1960 II: 212-213. The list of witnesses consists of seven bishops.

Queen Regent (Germán Orduna 1996: 57) although many in the Church were opposed to the royal marriage (see Linehan 1971: 220-250). Seeing the ecclesiastics as a source of potential support against the conflicting factions of the upper nobility, the *Ordanamiento de prelados*<sup>38</sup> was enacted in response to the grievances of the clergy, especially their exclusion from the Courts of Valladolid. Archbishop Gonzalo of Toledo wrote that ‘fuemos ende apartados et estannados et sacados expresamente nos et los otros prelados et ricos-homes et los fijosdalgo’ (Martínez Marina 2019: 83; Cf. Linehan 1993: 532). O’Callaghan (1981) argues that ‘in their concern to secure the throne for Fernando IV, the regents obviously were willing to accede to almost any demands that were made of them’ (199) and the prelates subsequently became strong allies of María de Molina and the young King, thanks to the former’s skills of appeasement.

## THE ROYAL MARRIAGE

The narration of the marriage of Alfonso VIII is used by the Molinist author of the text to form a narrative in María de Molina’s favour, using theories of queenship to infer a resemblance between María and Leonor, Alfonso’s royal bride. The Castilian magnates who assembled in Burgos in November advised that Alfonso VIII’s wife should be from outside the Iberian Peninsula and from a dynasty which could serve Castile’s peninsular interests. Indeed, medieval Western European marriages were formed to cement relationships between kingdoms and, as Duby describes, wives were the ‘valuable currency with which to buy friendships and peace’ (1998: 62). Peace was desperately needed by Castile: during the minority of Alfonso VIII, the *Crónica de Castilla* focusses the narration of peninsular relations on Castile and León but, between 1162 and 1163, Sancho VI of Navarre invaded and occupied almost all of La Rioja and a large area of Old Castile (Lacarra 1976: 215),<sup>39</sup> exploiting the fragile internal state of Castile. The Treaty of Sahagún in 1168 between Castile and Aragon, in favour of both these kingdoms’ support from England, left Navarre isolated in the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, Cerda (2011: 228-230) argues that the rivalry between the Capetians and the Plantagenets was also a context for the marriage (Cf. Gillingham 2001: 30-32). A strong alliance between the rulers of Gascony and the rulers of Castile would intimidate the rulers of France, who were allied to the Navarrese (González 1960 I: 793). Although the political conflict between Castile and Navarre is not narrated in the *Crónica de Castilla*, it is undoubtedly a context which would

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<sup>38</sup> *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Leon y de Castilla* (1861: 133-135).

<sup>39</sup> See also González 1960: 788-789 and *DRH* VII.XXVI.

have been known and understood by the author and the readers of the text at the time of its composition. The Castilian magnates' chosen candidate for Alfonso VIII was Leonor Plantagenet, daughter of Henry II of England and Eleonor of Aquitaine who, along with the King of Aragón, also took an active role in arranging the marriage (Cerdeja 2013: 144). As Bullón Fernández argues, the marriage between Leonor and Alfonso had a 'wide range of implications' (2007: 5), both for England and for Castile.

The study of medieval Queenship, and particularly the Plantagenet princesses who became queen consorts across Europe, has become a growing field of study in recent years (see Jasperse 2017, Shadis and Hoffman Berman 2003 and Rodríguez 2014). The texts which legislated the role of a medieval queen had their origins in twelfth-century Castile. It was Alfonso X who, in his *Siete Partidas*, first described the qualities which a queen should possess: 'e porende deue el rey catar que aquella con quien casasse aya en si quatro cosas. La primera que venga de buen linaje. La segunda que sea famosa. La tercera que sea buen acostumbrada. La quarta que sea rica' (*SP II VI.I*). Of these four characteristics, the Wise King continues to write that only being from a good lineage and being well-mannered were absolutely necessary because these qualities alone would preserve and elevate a king's royal lineage and defend his honour (ibid.). Rochwert-Zuili also identifies from the *Partidas* that the royal couple should be unified and indissoluble (2006: 1; Cf *SP II VI.I*) and that the queen should be the only woman to share in the joys and sufferings of the monarch (ibid.).

The young Plantagenet princess was a perfect choice of bride for Alfonso VIII; in one sentence, the *Crónica de Castilla* explains how Leonor fulfils all four royal prerequisites set out in the *Partidas*, though due to the amount of discourse pertaining to her lineage, it can be assumed that this was the most important for the chronicler.

E la dueña sali6 muy buena e muy cuerda e ense6ada, e era muy fermosa e de buen donayre; e 6sta fue hermana de Enrique e de<l> rey Jouen e del rey Ricarte, que fue muy buen rey e esfoz6ado que m6s non podr6a ser; e el duc de Breta6a e el rey Johan sin Tierra, e ovo dos hermanas: la vna fue reyna de Cecilya, la otra duquesa de Sanso6a (*CC 271a*).

The Plantagenet (or Angevin) Empire, into which Leonor had been born, was at its height during the late twelfth century, and covered a vast part of Western Europe, from the north of England to the Pyrenees, and the east coast of Ireland to Auvergne.<sup>40</sup> Henry II, Leonor's father, was titled King of England, Duke of Normandy, Duke of Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou and

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<sup>40</sup> On the Angevin Empire, see Power 2016.

Maine. Leonor's brother, Richard the Lionheart,<sup>41</sup> so flatteringly described in the *Crónica de Castilla*, is still regarded as an exceptional king in British popular culture today. By including some of Leonor's other siblings who went on to marry or to become kings, dukes, or counts, the chronicler is further elaborating on the prestige of the new queen's lineage, the influence of which stretched throughout Europe. The *Crónica Manuelina* dedicates an entire chapter to Leonor's lineage, which it refers to as her 'buenas condiciones' (fol. 167v-168v). Hijano Villegas hypothesises that the origin of this chapter is in an unknown genealogical work or note but which was certainly contained in the *\*Antecesor perdido* (2014: 34). The inclusion of this passage in the *Crónica de Castilla* is in part likely due to María de Molina's interest in compiling genealogical information (see Rodríguez Porto 2006: 225) but is also an example of her programme of legitimisation (ibid.; see Gómez Redondo 1998: 853-863) during the succession crisis which was faced previously by Sancho IV, and subsequently by her son Fernando IV and grandson Alfonso XI. María de Molina was Sancho IV's second cousin and many magnates who favoured the de la Cerda's claim to the throne tried to argue that her marriage and her children were illegitimate due to consanguinity. Indeed, the Pope excommunicated the couple until the marriage was legalised by Pope Boniface VIII in a Papal Bull following the Cortes of Valladolid in 1300. However, by associating María de Molina with the noble lineage of Leonor Plantagenet, the chronicler seeks to suppress and questions her unsuitability to reign.

The political and cultural significance of the Plantagenet lineage is prevalent throughout thirteenth- and fourteenth-century texts, and is even noted by sources contemporary to Leonor. In particular, the symbolism of the Plantagenet arms is considered as a representation of the lineage's political and cultural power. Ramón Vidal de Besalú, a Provençal troubadour at the Castilian court, described how Queen Leonor was 'modestamente vestida en con un manto de material fino, rojo, con bordes plateados, con leones dorados' (Fraser 2006: 3). The heraldic symbols of gold leopards on a field of red demonstrate what Cerda has described as 'la dignidad de la estirpe de Leonor, cubierta por los emblemas de su padre' (2012: 639). Heraldry also plays an important role in creating the identity of the Kingdom of Castile, and it is thought that the colours of the arms of Leonor Plantagenet's father were the origin of Castile's blazon of 'gules a triple-towered castle or masoned sable and ajoure azure' which was first used by Alfonso VIII (Cerda 2013: 148). Half a century later, during the reign of Alfonso X, the political and cultural

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<sup>41</sup> See Gillingham's wide range of monographs published on Richard I of England, particularly (1994) and (2001) for a biographical account of his life and his reign.

memory of Leonor Plantagenet, could have influenced the Wise King's matrimonial policy of marrying his sister, Eleanor, to Edward I of England, whom he knighted in 1254, although it is more likely that the territorial dispute over Gascony was more likely the principal cause of the marriage, as will be discussed in the following chapter. Nonetheless, the significance of the marriage between Alfonso VIII and Leonor greatly influenced Alfonsine foreign policy and the description of Queen Leonor proved a perfect example of queenly virtue, which María de Molina sought to emulate.

A further point of interest regarding Leonor Plantagenet is the argument that she was responsible for introducing a mythicised history to the Iberian Peninsula (Walker 2007: 71). Entwistle has argued that the Plantagenet Queen had enabled the Arthurian legend to be transmitted to Spain (1925: 32-35), and 'it is quite probable that it would have made a very suitable marriage gift in the same vein as the *Vita* of Saint Edward given to Eleanor of Castile' (Walker 2007: 71). The new haven for oral narratives patronised by Leonor provided the 'milieu for the production of the [...] *Poema de Mio Cid*' (ibid.). In the same vein, almost a century later, it seems María de Molina modelled herself on the Plantagenet Queen, incorporating legendary material into the *Crónica de Castilla*. Indeed, González describes the epoch around 1300 to be rich in legends (1960 I: 26).

## THE JEWESS OF TOLEDO

In the chapter which immediately follows the marriage of Alfonso VIII to Leonor, the *Crónica de Castilla* continues its narrative with more material of legendary origin. The legend of the Jewess of Toledo is well known and has become the subject of several works of popular culture from the Middle Ages to the twentieth century. It formed the basis for Lope de Vega's *Jerusalén conquistada* (1609) and his *Las paces de los reyes y la judía de Toledo* (1611), as well as the German film *Die Jüdin von Toledo* (Kreisler 1919) and Lion Feuchtwanger's novel of the same name (1955). The origins of the legend are still debated by scholars, as is the issue of the episode's historicity (see Shadis 2009: 48-50). The earliest mention of the love affair between the Alfonso VIII and the Jewess appears in the *Castigos e documentos para bien vivir*, a 'manual of proper conduct' written by Sancho IV for his son Fernando, later Fernando IV (Nirenberg 2007: 16). The *Castigos* were completed between 1292 and 1293 (Gómez Redondo 1998: 913), around the time that the prologue describes the conquest of Tarifa. However, the text was certainly amplified and adapted various times after its original composition (Bizarri 1998: 88-89). The *Castigos* were written against the backdrop of Sancho IV's struggle to



reconfigure his image as king. Gómez Redondo has studied the differences between the historiographical output of Alfonso X and his son (1996: 181-199), and argues that the *Castigos* contain five principles of a new vision of monarchy (1998: 921-938). Of these, the most significant are ‘the legitimacy of dynastic rights’, ‘the union between God and King’ and ‘the authority of the King’, which all propagate the Molinist ideology and can also be found in the *Crónica de Castilla*. The narration of the legend in the *Castigos* is very concise, offering only a few details of the liaison: ‘otrosi para mientes, mio fijo, e toma ende mio castigo de lo que contesçio al rey don Alfonso de Castilla, el que vençio la batalla de Hubeda, por siete annos que visco mala vida con vna judia de Toledo’ (Rey 1952: 133).

The *Crónica de Castilla* is the first chronicle text which includes the legend in its narrative of Alfonso VIII’s reign. Although, as Nirenberg explains, the ‘Jewess remains anonymous and undescribed’ (2007: 18), the text’s narration of the legend clearly shows an expansion of the legend and inclusion of details which are likely to be based on oral legends. The author of the *Crónica de Castilla* describes how ‘segund cuenta el arçobispo don Rodrigo, estudo encerrado poco menos con ella siete años, que non se menbaua de sí nin de su reyno nin de otra cosa ninguna’ (CC 271b). By combining a more exact time period to the already-stated ‘grant tienpo’ (ibid.), and a reference to the Toledano, the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* adds more weight to the veracity and authority of the episode, and as a result, of the whole narrative of the *Crónica de Castilla*. The reference to Jiménez de Rada is an example of what Roland Barthes (1953), following the theory of Jakobson, has defined as ‘shifters’. As Manolo Hijano notes, these are ‘momentos en los que el flujo de la narración se interrumpe para que el discurso se vuelva hacia sí mismo’ These are indexel markers in the text which refer to the origin of the discourse or which help to structure the text. (2000: 41) The use of shifters which reference the origin of discourse was common practice in the Alfonsine scriptoria and was adapted from the Toledan texts (Hijano Villegas 2000: 41). However, the episode of the Jewess of Toledo is included neither in the *De rebus Hispaniae* nor in any of the versions of the *Estoria de España*.<sup>42</sup> Nirenberg explains that the chronicles which followed the *Crónica de Castilla*, including the *Crónica Ocampiana* (1541) omit this reference to the Toledano, implying that they were aware, apparently unlike the author of the *Crónica de Castilla*, that Jiménez de Rada had not included any mention of the episode in his works (2007: 17; 35 n. 5). Moreover, the

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<sup>42</sup>One exception is a note in the margin of the X-I-4 of the *Estoria de España*: ‘Este rey don Alfonso el sobredicho ouo de fazer pesar a Dios en siete annos que moró en la judería de Toledo con una judía despendiendo y mal so tienpo’ (in González 1960: 27). González dates the marginal interpolation from the end of the thirteenth century, and it is generally accepted that the account is written by a later hand.

later *Crónica de 1344* includes the reference to the Archbishop in some variants but not in others (see *C1344*: 282). However, it is almost impossible to believe that the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* did not know that the Toledan and Alfonsine texts did not contain the story, seeing as the *Crónica de Castilla* relies heavily on these texts, both in its structure and its discourse. Rather, it is very probable that the chronicler incorporated oral legends which were discussed at the royal court into the basis of the tale which had been written in the *Castigos*. Hijano Villegas argues that the use of ‘shifters’ in historiographical works is to emphasise the assertive function of the text and to remind the reader of the authority it holds (2000: 42). Given the continuing debate of the tale’s historicity, it is likely that the chronicler used this device to reinforce the appearance of the accuracy of his account of Alfonso VIII’s life.

The *Crónica de Castilla* recounts how, on entering Toledo with his wife, Alfonso VIII began an affair with a Jew and was so consumed with his love for her that he began to neglect himself and his kingdom. Nirenberg includes a translation of the episode by Castañeda (1962: 18), which is a transcription of *BNM ms. 10815*. This version includes a line describing how the king had been bewitched by the Jewess, who used ‘spells and love magic that she knew how to make’ (2007: 17). This line is neither included in Rochwert-Zuili’s edition (which uses mss. P and G) nor in Ramón Lorenzo’s Gallego-Portuguese edition. The line is, however, repeated in the *Crónica de 1344*: ‘e dizem alguus que este tam gran amor que elle avya a esta judya que non era se non por feitiços que lhe ela sabya fazer’ (*C1344* 282). Given the vast number of manuscript versions of the *Crónica de Castilla*, some textual variation is to be expected. However, the importance of this line, with its clear legendary origins is of significance in the study of the episode’s historicity. Despite the novelisation, which was characteristic of post-Alfonsine texts (see Catalán 1969, Funes 1999 and Moreira 2015), this reference to magic would have had a detrimental effect on the validity of the chronicler’s account. The text continues by describing how a group of noblemen, who could see the damage the king was doing, agreed to kill the Jewess. While some entered the King’s bedchamber to talk to him about his discretion, others went to the Jewess and murdered her. The noblemen took the king to Illescas, where one night he had a dream in which an angel appeared to him and brought Alfonso out of his mourning, leaving the room with a great light and scent. This divine occurrence may seem to counteract the suppression of the reference to magic earlier in the narrative but similarly to the appearance of the Angel Gabriel to the Cid, the vision plausibly appeared in a dream, which does not alter the implied reality of the narrative (see Beltrán 2019).

An important aspect of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of the episode is that the apparent crisis caused by the King's disinterest in governing his kingdom is solved by the nobility. Some scholars argue that the protagonism of the nobility in this episode is another instance of how the *Crónica de Castilla* is an example of an aristocratic version of the past (see Funes 2015: 6; 8). Yet, as Bergqvist argues, 'a purely aristocratic historiography would [...] not emphasise the loyalty of the vassalic relationship in the manner in which it is conceived [in the *Crónica de Castilla*] as a support for the monarchy' (2018: 80). In the context of the Molinist theory, the episode can be seen as an example of how the nobility supported the King in a time of trouble, just as María de Molina required support during the minority of Fernando IV. Alves Moreira argues that the part played by the noblemen expiated past guilts (the turbulent period of civil war during the minority of Alfonso VIII) and revealed them to be decisive in the stabilisation of the kingdom (2015: 29; see also Arizaleta 2003). It is significant to note that both the *Castigos* and the *Crónica de Castilla*, the first written texts to narrate the legend of the Jewess of Toledo, both belong to the Molinist school. It would seem that the legend was created during the reign of Sancho IV and elaborated after the King's death, considering the lack of written sources prior to that time. The legend, most probably another example of a piece of narrative from an oral source, as described by Hijano Villegas (2014: 34) and also exemplified in the Battle of Huete and the Siege of Zorita (see chapter 1 of this thesis), demonstrates how María de Molina adopts oral sources to allow for a rhetorical negotiation of history in order to impose practical politics of monarchy. The ideology of monarchical negotiation with the upper nobility of María de Molina's court and her need for their loyalty can be seen in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s precise depiction of the noblemen in the legend. There is evidence of the noblemen's loyalty to the king in the use of the noun 'vasallos' when describing how they took Alfonso to Illescas (CC 271b). By describing the noblemen as vassals of the king, rather than simply defining them by their societal rank as the chronicler does earlier in the chapter (ibid.), the text implies that, in performing this act of murder, they were offering a service to the king, which gives the act a socio-political subtext and highlights the nobility's loyalty to the Kingdom. María de Molina particularly needed the loyalty of her nobility as she was isolated in her regency by clans of noblemen: on one side, the Infante Juan and Don Juan Núñez de Lara; on the other, the Infante Enrique and Diego López de Haro.

## THE ROYAL DESCENDANCE

After a detailed account of the activities of Diego López de Haro (see chapter three), and the Battle of Alarcos (see chapter four), Queen Leonor is included in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s description of the royal couple's descendants. The text describes that Alfonso had made his life 'good and clean' (CC 279b), and what follows is a list of the children of Alfonso and Leonor:

la primera fue doña Beringuella, que es reyna de León, según que avedes oýdo,  
e después ovo a don Sancho, e biuió poco, e después a doña Hurraca, que fue  
casada con el rey don Alfonso de Portugal, e después a doña Blanca, que fue  
cassada con don Loys, rey de França, e desí nació el ynfante don Fernando,  
que fue muy buen mançebo (CC 279b).

The narration of the continuation of the royal lineage in this way is original discourse to the *Crónica de Castilla*; it is not included in any previous chronicle, though it is repeated in the *Crónica de 1344*. Its importance in propagating the actor's legitimisation of her ancestry and, therefore, the legitimisation of her regency must not be overlooked.

Chronicled immediately after Castile's defeat in the Battle of Alarcos (see chapter 4 of this thesis), this short section of narrative appears to be a way for the chronicler to offer the reader a form of consolation for the Kingdom of Castile and redemption for Alfonso VIII. The Muslim victory over Castile did not only mean a weakening of the King's authority over his subjects and of Castile's dominance over the Peninsula, but it was also considered a theological transgression in the crusade against the infidel. The shame felt within the royal household, the Court and the Kingdom would have been great, but highlighting the continuation of the royal line is an effective form of propaganda to remind the reader of the King's successful fulfilment of his duty to enable the stability of Castile by providing an heir. This is especially significant given that the *Crónica de Castilla* has been said to have a 'proto-nationalistic' ideology (Bergqvist 69). Moreover, Leonor's queenly purpose of giving the King an heir is also fulfilled in this section of narrative. The *Crónica de Castilla* not only lists the children of the royal couple, but also notes their marriages to other European kings, including Alfonso IX of León,<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Though Berenguela was first engaged to Conrad, Duke of Swabia, who was knighted by Alfonso VIII in Carrión de las Cortes in 1188 (Martínez Díez 2007: 47; see the following chapter), after the birth of a son to the Queen, Berenguela ceased to be the heir presumptive of Castile and Conrad lost interest in pursuing the marriage. Berenguela petitioned the Pope for an annulment of the marriage, but Conrad was assassinated in 1196. In 1197, Berenguela married her cousin Alfonso IX of León in order to instil peace between the two kingdoms, though in 1204, a Papal Bull annulled the marriage and Berenguela returned to Castile in order to care for her children. (See Sánchez de Mora 2003: 232 and González 1960 I: 196-200; 732-733).

Alfonso II of Portugal<sup>44</sup> and Louis VIII of France.<sup>45</sup> These marriages once again prove that Leonor was indeed a suitable bride for Alfonso VIII; her quality of being from a good lineage, as defined in the *Partidas*, contributed to their royal offspring being able to marry into some of the most prestigious royal houses in Europe: ‘pues cuanto ella de mejor linaje fuere, tanto será él más honrado por ello, y los hijos que de ella hubiera serán más nobles y mejor considerados’ (*SP II VI.I*). Not only would this bring honour to Alfonso VIII and the Kingdom of Castile, it also widened the King’s sphere of influence and increased the numbers of his allies across the continent to whom he could turn in his time of need. This would later prove useful in the Battle of las Navas de Tolosa in 1212. Indeed, Alfonso VIII wrote to Philip II of France to call for support in the battle. As Alvira Cabrer notes, this is the only example of the Castilian court’s organised recruitment for the battle (2003: 116).<sup>46</sup> Alfonso VIII’s case would certainly have been aided by the fact that he and Philip II had been brothers-in-law since 1200.

The part played by Leonor in providing the King with children who would go on to influence European politics in this way would have set an incredible precedent for María de Molina, who, through her father – Alfonso de Molina – was the granddaughter of Alfonso IX of León and Berengaria, and therefore a direct descendent of Queen Leonor. Indeed, it can be argued that María de Molina strove to emphasise the qualities of Leonor in order that they reflect onto her own image, within the context of her marriage and descendancy. In 1280, as Marcos Pous has shown, marriage celebrations took place between Sancho IV and Guillerma de Moncada, daughter of Gaston VII, Viscount of Béarn and Lord of Moncada and Castelnell (1956: 20-25). The marriage was never consummated and, considering having annulled his union with Doña Guillerma, Sancho IV married María de Molina in June 1282 (González Mínguez 1976: 26). Not only did Sancho IV’s father, Alfonso X, not consent to this marriage, the two were both descendants of Alfonso IX and Berengaria and, as such, cousins. They therefore needed papal dispensation to marry, which they had not received. Pope Martin IV

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<sup>44</sup> Urraca married Alfonso II in 1206. See Sotto Mayor Pizarro (1997: 167-168) and González (1960 I: 203-204).

<sup>45</sup> English and French ambassadors agreed that the French heir would marry a Castilian princess, and Eleanor of Aquitaine travelled to Castile to decide which of Alfonso and Leonor’s daughters would be most suitable. The marriage of Blanca and Louis took place in 1200, and after her husband’s death Blanca was regent of France, between 1226 and 1235 (see Martínez Díez 2007: 49 and González 1960 I: 204-207). The *Crónica Manuelina* amplifies the narrative of the *Crónica de Castilla*, including a tale of how two French ambassadors came to Castile to choose a bride for Louis VIII and opted for Blanca due to the connotations of the name Urraca, which in French means magpie, who was their original choice.

<sup>46</sup> The letter is transcribed in González (1960 III: 558-560 n. 890) and is translated by Gorosterratzu (1925: 74). González tentatively dates the document from 1212, while Gorosterratzu states that it is evident the letter is from 1211, which would give enough time for the messengers to travel from Castile to France and for the French King to muster troops and journey to the battle (*ibid*).

condemned the union and threatened the couple with excommunication if they did not separate (ibid.: 26-27).<sup>47</sup> What Marcos Pous has defined as Sancho IV's 'battle for dispensation' was futile and the King died on 25 April 1295 (see Marcos Pous 1956: 44-81 and Jaffé and Finke 1927: 298-318). María de Molina's struggle to assert her authority and the right for her son to rule continued until she received a Papal Bull of 1301. By referring to the marriages of Leonor Plantagenet's children in such a detailed way, and associating María de Molina so closely with her, the *Crónica de Castilla* attempts to diminish the issues of her son's legitimacy and asserts her authority as regent.

It can also be argued that, as well as emplotting her own reign in the portrayal of Leonor, María de Molina was also using the *Crónica de Castilla* as an instructional document for her son, Fernando IV, and his Queen, Constance of Portugal, in the same way that Rodríguez Porto (2006) argues that the text contained in Manuscript 7415 held at the *Biblioteca Nacional* in Madrid was a way of educating Alfonso XI, who succeeded Fernando IV in 1312 (María de Molina also acted as regent for her grandson until her death in 1321). Rochwert-Zuili describes this document as a compendium of genealogical information based on the *Liber Regum* (2006: 25). It is possible that the manuscript written for Alfonso XI inspired him to commission the *Crónica de Alfonso X*, which was written later in his reign (González Jiménez 1998: xiii) and contains letters from the Wise King to his son Sancho, later Sancho IV. A further example of the practice of educating one's successors is Sancho IV's *Castigos e documentos de buen vivir*. The parallels between Constance, the Portuguese infanta, and Leonor, the Plantagenet princess, are clear: both their marriages were the result of peace treaties between kingdoms and both queens were pawns in Castilian diplomacy. The marriage of Alfonso VIII and Leonor Plantagenet is set in the context of the conflict between Castile and Navarre, while the marriage of Fernando IV and Constance was the product of peace treaties to resolve a conflict between Castile and Portugal (see Álvarez Palenzuela 1998 and Romero Portilla 2015). The first treaty regarding the marriage of Fernando IV and Constance was signed by representatives of both kingdoms in 1291, when the Castilian prince was five years old and the young princess was just twenty months old. A further affirmation of the marriage was agreed at the *Cortes* of Valladolid in 1295, when María de Molina, then widowed and acting as regent, surrendered Castilian territories to Portugal in an attempt to end the hostilities.

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<sup>47</sup> A letter sent from Martin IV to Sancho dated 13 January 1283 which elucidates the Pope's opposition to the marriage can be found in Marcos Pous (1956: 91-92).

The betrothal was again ratified in the Treaty of Alcañices in 1297, and the marriage took place in Valladolid on 23 January 1302 (see González Mínguez 1976: 128-130 and 2004: 225-229).

## THE FOUNDING OF THE ABBEY OF SANTA MARÍA LA REAL DE LAS HUELGAS

The same chapter of the *Crónica de Castilla* continues to narrate how Alfonso, ‘por fazer emienda a Dios, e por consejo de dona Leonor, su mugier, fizo el monasterio de Santa María la Real de las Huelgas de Burgos’ (CC 279b). The facts surrounding the founding of the Abbey are unclear but we know that by 1185 the Abbey was already under construction (Reglero de la Fuente 2016: n. 2). Additionally, documents in the collection amassed by González show that on 1 June 1187, the royal family offered a dotage to the Abbey (1960 II: 808-812). The notion that Leonor had the impulse to found the Abbey, or that she was an equal partner to her husband in its foundation, has been chronicled by several authors, beginning with the Toledano (DRH XXXIII). The *Versión sanchina* of the *Estoria de España* translates Jiménez de Rada’s account (PCG 685a) and Alfonso X also refers to the founding of Las Huelgas in his *Cantigas de Santa María*,<sup>48</sup> alluding to the royal couple’s joint patronage:

E pois tornou-s’ a Castéla, des i en Burgos morava,  
e un espital fazia el, e sa mollér lavrava  
o mōesteiro das Ólgas; e enquant’ assí estaba,  
dos séus fillos e dos nétos mui gran prazer recebía (CSM 221)

However, the most contemporaneous text to the event- the *Chronica latina regum Castellae* – makes no reference to the Queen in the Abbey’s foundation. This chronicle narrates only that it was a ‘monasterium paternum’ (CLRC 80) which, as Rose Walker (2005: 352) points out, implies that ‘it was regarded as the King’s foundation’. Walker (ibid.: 351) also argues that the Queen’s inclusion in the Toledano and later chronicles’ narratives may be a result of a literary device which is used by Rodrigo to create a parallel of queenly virtue between the Archbishop’s text and the *Crónica Legionense*, an earlier anonymous chronicle text.<sup>49</sup> In the *Crónica*

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<sup>48</sup> Written in Gallego-Portuguese, the *Cantigas de Santa María* are a set of 427 poems set to music, attributed to Alfonso X *el Sabio*. For a detailed bibliography of the poems of Alfonso X, see Snow (2013: 1-408). I cite the text from <http://www.cantigasdesantamaria.com> as CSM followed by the number of the canticle.

<sup>49</sup> Historians generally date the text from the early 1100s. Pérez de Urbel and Ruiz Zorrilla posit that it was written in the 1110s (1959: 87), while Diego Catalán (1982: 24) more precisely cites 1118. Some scholars have named the text *Historia Silense*, after the Abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, near Burgos, where they argue the work was finished (Pérez de Urbel and Ruiz Zorrilla 1959: 87). However, Diego Catalán, describes this title as ‘mal llamada’ (1982: 24), and argues for it to be called the *Crónica Seminense*. Georges Martin (2012), has adopted the title *Crónica Legionense*, which is not only more proper due to the disputed origins of the text, but it also clearly shows the text’s enunciative context and its affiliation with Leon: ‘sus inclinaciones parecen concentrarse en León, [y] su verdadero afecto es la familia real leonesa, y especialmente Alfonso VI’ (Pérez de Urbel and Ruiz Zorrilla 1959: 88).

*Legionense*'s account, the building of the Romanesque church of St John the Baptist at the Basilica of San Isidoro at Leon is attributed to Queen Sancha's persuasion and advice (Pérez de Urbel 1959: 198-9, 94). Rochwert-Zuili has proven several parallels between María de Molina and Queen Sancha, as well as her other predecessors, notably doña Blanca (c.1134-1156), who was the wife of Sancho III and mother of Alfonso VIII, and Berengaria (1116-1149), the consort of Alfonso VII *el Emperador* and Alfonso VIII's grandmother. Gómez Redondo (2012: 69) argues that a further parallel occurs in the advice given by Jimena to Fernando I in the *Libro del Cavellero Zifar*, another Molinist text and arguably the first novel written in Castilian (González, C 1983: 31). Rochwert-Zuili has also commented on Sancha's actions as Queen (2006); she argues that in Sancha's description in the *Crónica de Castilla*, María de Molina very much had in mind the example of her predecessors (42; Cf. del Valle Curieses: 2000: 115) and sought to create a parallel between her and Queen Sancha, which can be seen throughout the *Crónica de Castilla*. Sancha is introduced in a similar way to Leonor; the chronicle describes her as 'muy buena reyna e mucho entendida e mucho amiga de su marido, et conssejólo sienpre bien. Et fue espejo de los reynes, e de las viudas e de los huérffanos. Eran d'ella aconssejados' (CC 86b).

Describing both Leonor and Sancha and extolling their virtues in such a similar way, creates a symbolic genealogical link between them, and also emplots the regency of María de Molina by showing her to be a dignified descendant of the great Castilian queens of the past, which would help to legitimise her regency and her son's claim to the crown. The foundation of the Cistercian Abbey of Las Huelgas offers a further parallel between Leonor and María de Molina. The founding of monasteries in the Middle Ages was seen as a responsibility of queens, who were a form of mediation between the temporal and the spiritual (Rochwert-Zuili 2006: 32). Indeed, the role of women more generally in the Middle Ages was to 'intercede [on the behalf of the warrior men] with the Father and Judge' (Duby 1998 II: 146). Le Jan (2001) has underlined the political and social importance of monasteries built for women by female patrons, explaining that the monasteries played a crucial role in preserving aristocratic families during the seventh century (17-18 and 89-107). Indeed, a new feminine form of spirituality came into being during the eleventh and twelfth centuries when a great number of churches began to be devoted to Mary, including the Abbey of Las Huelgas at Burgos. It appears that the practice of building monasteries for Cistercian nuns continued into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the importance placed upon it in the *Crónica de Castilla*. Furthermore, María de Molina herself founded the Abbey of Las Huelgas in Valladolid in 1282, perhaps in



order to create a direct parallel between herself and Leonor Plantagenet (see Rochwert-Zuili 2016).

The *Crónica de Castilla*'s description of the role Leonor plays in the founding of Las Huelgas in Burgos modifies the discourse of previous chronicles by its use of language, and adds a further socio-political motivation to the Abbey's construction. Whereas the *De rebus Hispaniae*, which first included the Queen's involvement in the Abbey's foundation, describes how Las Huelgas was founded 'ad instanciam serenissime uxoris sue Alienor regine' (*DRH* VII.XXXIII), which the *Versión sanchina* translates as 'por el gran afficamiento de la muy noble reyna donna Leonor' (*PCG* 685a). The use of the noun 'consejo' in the *Crónica de Castilla* infers a political significance to its building (Rochwert-Zuili 2006: 26). Rochwert-Zuili argues that the *Crónica de Castilla* places great importance on the act of queens offering counsel, as that was the medieval queen's way of preserving the throne for their husbands or sons and guarding the image of royalty (2006: 39), which conforms to the Alfonsine code on the behaviour of queens, as discussed above. For María de Molina, aligning herself with these historically revered queens was a way of proving that her own counsel to her husband and son was successful and legitimate. As a widow, the duty of offering counsel was also particularly important for María de Molina. Duby notes that widowed medieval women would be supported by their sons, 'whom she would assist by her counsel to lead a better life' (1998 II: 149). This contributed to her being able to control the regency of Fernando IV more successfully and assume precedence over other pretenders to the Castilian throne, including the Infantes Enrique and Juan. Together with her successful negotiations at the Cortes of Valladolid which secured her the sole custody of her son, the Queen Regent's historiographical image of 'the good counsellor' helped to ensure the safety of her son and the continuation of her lineage. Indeed, María de Molina's art of offering counsel prevented one of the greatest potential uprisings of Fernando IV's early reign when, in 1302, the Infante Enrique threatened the total uprising of all the members of the nobility against the King. Fernando IV had recently appointed Juan Núñez de Lara as *mayordomo mayor*, the highest office in the Kingdom of Castile, and had disposed of Prince Enrique as his tutor, which greatly offended Enrique. The Infante's position in the hierarchy of the Court had been usurped so, allying himself with Diego López de Haro, an enemy of Don Juan Núñez de Lara, Enrique went to María de Molina with an ultimatum: either she ensured that the King would name Enrique lifelong tutor to Fernando IV or he would unite all the King's enemies together to cause his downfall (*CFIV* 103). Seeing the danger faced by the King, María successfully appeased Enrique, saying that she would petition the

king to compensate for the lost tutorship but decreed that, as the King was now of age, he did not need a tutor. Visiting the King in Medina del Campo, María de Molina asked her son to give the towns of Atienza and Berlanga to Enrique. After Fernando IV sought the counsel of the Infante Juan and Don Juan Núñez de Lara, the latter also offered Prince Enrique his castles, which González Mínguez argues were of undoubtable strategic value (1976: 130). This example of negotiation, counsel and compromise would not have been possible without the intervention of María de Molina. As Gaibrois y Riaño de Ballesteros states, ‘cierto es que sin ella, sin su oportuna mediación, probablemente se hubiera encendido de nuevo la discordia en Castilla’ (1935: 30).

## CONCLUSIONS

The sections of narrative which feature the women of Alfonso’s reign, his queen, Leonor Plantagenet, and his lover, the Jewess of Toledo, are used by the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* to portray a political vision. They demonstrate the Molinist ideology of the text, through their use of *exemplos* and manipulation of legendary sources. The protagonism of Queen Leonor is an overt reference to María de Molina who, as Rochwert-Zuili (2006) has demonstrated, sought to create parallels between her and her powerful predecessors. The chapters of the *Crónica de Castilla* describing the marriage of Alfonso VIII and Leonor, with their exalting depiction of Leonor’s virtues, which fit exactly with the expectation of a queen in the *Partidas*, exemplifies the way in which the chronicler sought to emplot the character of Leonor onto María de Molina’s image in order to legitimise her regency and her son, Fernando IV’s claim to the throne, at a time when María de Molina faced opposition from other pretenders, including Alfonso de la Cerda and the Infante Juan. Furthermore, the depiction of the role Leonor played at Alfonso VIII’s court, particularly when she gave counsel to build the Abbey of Santa María la Real de Las Huelgas, reflects the image of María de Molina as the good counsellor to her son.

In addition to the overarching theme of the role of women in these sections of the *Crónica de Castilla*, the nobility still plays an important function in much of the narrative. The combination of the assembly at Burgos and the marriage of Alfonso VIII and Leonor Plantagenet, which are separate in other post-Alfonsine works, including the *\*Historia menos atajante*, demonstrates how the chronicler wished to affiliate the nobility with the appropriate choice of royal bride. Moreover, in the episode of the Jewess of Toledo, when the king becomes

infatuated and ceases to fulfil his royal duties, it is a group of noblemen, described as vassals, who ‘rescue’ the king and kill the Jewess, demonstrating their loyalty.

The conflict between the different parts of the legislature (nobility and *concejos*) which was introduced in the previous chapter of this thesis relating to the flight of the king from Soria is continued in *Crónica de Castilla*’s depiction of the assembly at Burgos. The textual differences between the *Crónica de Castilla* and other post-Alfonsine texts which contain this episode, show how the chronicler sought to emphasise the upper nobility, when describing the ranks of noblemen who assembled there. The reference to the ecclesiastics in this episode is also significant in proving the Molinist origins of the *Crónica de Castilla*, by affirming the religious dimension of Castilian society (see Rochwert-Zuili: 37). The religious orthodoxy of the *Crónica de Castilla* is also demonstrated through the appearance of the angel in Alfonso VIII’s dream, his recognition of the sin he had committed and his resolution to lead a godlier life. The repetition that Alfonso was ‘faziendo su vida Buena e linpia con su muggier doña Leonor’ (CC 279) at the start of the chapter which describes the foundation of Las Huelgas also reinforces this argument. Finally, the foundation of the Abbey itself demonstrates that the hierarchies of the Church are not suppressed in the *Crónica de Castilla*, as Catalán maintains (2000:76).

Finally, in terms of the overall structure of the *Crónica de Castilla*’s narration of the reign of Alfonso VIII, the episode of the Jewess of Toledo and the building of the Abbey of Las Huelgas in Burgos form reference points in the dramatic arc which begins with the minority of Alfonso VIII and culminates in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. This shall be discussed further in chapter four.

### CHAPTER III:

## THE QUEST FOR DIEGO LÓPEZ DE HARO

The section of narrative which will be discussed in this chapter is significant in that it marks the start of a change to the intertextual relationships which defined the hipotexts and hypertexts of the *Crónica de Castilla*. The *Versión crítica*'s narrative ends with the death of Fernando II of León, while other variants of the *Crónica de veinte reyes* go on to use the *Crónica de Castilla* as their hipotext (Bautista 2014: 99 n.18). The *Versión sanchina* continues to base its narrative on the *De rebus Hispaniae*, expanding the Toledan discourse as before (Hijano Villegas 2014: 36). The *Crónica manuelina*, as well as the *Crónica abreviada* and the *Crónica ocampiana* are based on the *Versión sanchina*, without adding any large modifications (Bautista 2014: 99; Hijano Villegas 2014: 36). It is the *Crónica de Castilla*, which is the source of the *Crónica de 1344*, that both scholars identify as contributing an entirely distinct narrative with respect to the *Historia gothica*, beginning at this point and continuing throughout the final section of the text until the reign of Fernando III. Bautista describes these narrative blocs, which innovate on previous historiographical works, as original discourse to the text, and datable to the reign of Fernando IV (2014: 100). The first of these narrative sections which are contained in the *Crónica de Castilla* pertains to one of the most influential noblemen in medieval Iberia: Diego López de Haro. Several chapters of the *Crónica de Castilla* refer to Diego López and are significant in developing the portrayal of the Molinist image of the ideal vassal and the union between king and the nobility.

### THE FIGURE OF DIEGO LÓPEZ DE HARO

Diego López II de Haro was born around 1152, the eldest son of Lope Díaz I, Count of Nájera.<sup>50</sup> Described by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada as 'qui inter omnes magnates Hispanie precipuus

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<sup>50</sup> This Lope Díaz was the same protagonist of the Siege of Zorita, who refused the *beneficium* offered to him by the young Alfonso VIII.

habebatur' (*DRH* VII.XXXIII), Diego López de Haro became one of Alfonso VIII's most senior courtiers; he was even named as executor of his Last Will and Testament in 1208 (González 1960 I: 306; Cf. *ibid.* III: 446-448). Unlike the House of Lara, the House of Haro has been the object of few academic studies, with Jesús de Leza producing the only monograph on this powerful family (1954), though as Ghislain Baury points out, the work primarily focusses on the Haros' place in the feudal history of la Rioja (2003: 56). Canal Sánchez-Pagín (1995) has provided an overview of the Haro dynasty in twelfth-century Castile and León, while Baury (2011) investigates the relationship between the members of the House of Haro and the kings of Castile between 1051 and 1322. In addition, Baury's 2012 article analyses the family's place in the judicial system of Castile. Diego López II de Haro has been studied by several scholars within the context of the reign of Alfonso VIII, including by González (1960 I: 305-310). Additionally, Alvira Cabrer provides detailed analysis of Diego López de Haro's role in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (2012: 439-452). However, throughout the two centuries following his death, the historical image of Diego López de Haro has been manipulated both by chroniclers and troubadours alike, leading him to be known as both Diego López *el bueno* and *el malo*.

In his seminal article (2003), Baury analyses in great detail how the memory of Diego López de Haro was constructed and how the real Diego López, who can be found described in certain medieval charters, differs from his literary figure which was forged in the shadow of the role his descendants played in the politics of twelfth and thirteenth-century Castile. Early sources, including the works of troubadours who were contemporaries of Diego López de Haro portray him in a flattering light. Baury explains how, even the magnate himself commissioned troubadours to write about his virtues (2003: 57).<sup>51</sup> In the *Chronica Latina regum Castellae*, Diego López is also portrayed in a positive way. This is probably due to Diego López' son, Lope Díaz II de Haro's (1170-1236) appointment to the office of *alférez mayor* of Castile, after he gave Fernando III his support during the early years of his reign and during the succession crisis in León in 1230 (Baury 2003: 62-63; Cf. Baury 2011: 62-63 and Veas Arteseros 1986: 43-44).<sup>52</sup> Jiménez de Rada, on the other hand, presents an ambivalent attitude towards Diego López de Haro; there existed a certain amount of animosity between the Archbishop and Diego López II during his lifetime, and Diego López III's troubled relationship with the King in the

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<sup>51</sup> The troubadour renaissance in Castile was patronised by Queen Leonor, as discussed previously (see Menéndez Pidal 1924: 147-185).

<sup>52</sup> For a history of the reign of Fernando III, see González (1986 I), Martínez Díez (1993) and González Jiménez (2011).

1230s and 1240s also contributed to this less flattering portrayal (Baury 2011: 63-66). The compilers of the *Estoria de España* use only Toledan sources. The depiction of Diego López de Haro in the Wise King's text is therefore similar to Rodrigo's (Baury 2003: 69). Despite Baury's detailed investigation of Diego López de Haro, and his balanced use of primary sources, his study of post-Alfonsine works is flawed, as Bautista points out (2014: 100 n.19). Baury's 2003 article focusses its argument on the *Crónica geral de 1344*, despite much of that text's narrative being based on the *Crónica de Castilla*. This chapter will analyse the four chapters of the *Crónica de Castilla* which have Diego López de Haro as their protagonist. The chapters are significant in further demonstrating the Molinist ideology of the text and especially in the creation of an exemplar vassalic model for the nobility.

### **DIEGO LÓPEZ DE HARO IN THE *CRÓNICA DE CASTILLA***

The portrayal of Diego López de Haro in the *Crónica de Castilla* has been much less studied than the episodes concerning the minority of Alfonso VIII or the Jewess of Toledo. Although Hijano Villegas mentions the episodes relating to Diego López de Haro in the *Crónica de Castilla*, his focus is on the textual relationships between post-Alfonsine texts (2014: 36). Bautista (2014: 99-110) provides a detailed commentary of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s discourse and divides the narrative into two parts: Diego López de Haro's protagonism in León and his protagonism in Castile (2014: 100). Bautista also posits that the author of the episodes was connected to the Infante Juan, who was married to María Díaz de Haro and was a prominent figure at Court (2014: 110), which led to the inclusion of these episodes in the text. Hijano Villegas, on the other hand, points to two other possible motives for the narrative bloc's inclusion. Firstly, he suggests that the material could have formed part of an archive of historiographic material dating from the Court of Sancho IV when Lope Díaz de Haro's influence in the Kingdom would have included responsibilities for the Chancery, and most likely the *scriptorium*. Secondly, Hijano speculates that the stories could have had nothing to do with the House of Haro, and could, instead, have been an attempt by the chronicler to record anecdotes known about Diego López in the most pro-aristocratic way possible (2014: 37-38 n. 61). He also divides Diego López' portrayal in the *Crónica de Castilla* into three blocs (2014: 36 n. 59), which all contain Diego López's actions before his return to Castile in the early 1200s.<sup>53</sup> Structuring these episodes in three separate narrative blocs may seem the best way of

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<sup>53</sup> These blocs are: (i) the dispute between Don Diego and Alfonso IX over the castles of Aguilar and Monteagudo, which were donated by Fernando II to his last wife Urraca López de Haro, (ii) the confrontation between Diego López de Haro and Alfonso VIII, his march to Navarre, the battle he fought against the Castilian

dividing the narrative, given the chronological gaps between them. Indeed, the narrative which is inserted into the *Crónica de Castilla* begins in 1188 with the death of Fernando II of Leon and continues until the early 1200s, when Diego López returned to the Castilian court. This section is then followed by the narration of the Battle of Alarcos, which took place in 1195. However, the episodes are deliberately grouped together by the chronicler, which implies that they should be read as one. This offers a complete narrative and exists in isolation to the *Crónica de Castilla*'s main narrative thread, which after the legend of the Jewess of Toledo, turns to the reign of Fernando II of Leon (1137-1188): 'e porque auemos dicho de los trabajos del rey don Alfonso que ouo al comienço quando reynó, e de todo lo ál que auedes oýdo, por ende conviene que uos digamos del rey don Fernando, su tío de León, que era hermano de su padre, de los Buenos fechos que fizo' (CC 272). Four chapters later, the narrative section relating to Diego López de Haro begins. After these four chapters conclude in the early 1200s, the text's narrative focus returns to Alfonso VIII: 'agora vos dexaremos de fablar del rey de León e tornarnos hemos al rey don Alfonso de Castilla' (CC 277).

If we consider this interpolation into the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative consists of an integrated series of episodes, the discourse forms a coherent argument which follows classical theories of narrative. Aristotle believed all narrative should have a 'beginning, a middle and an end' (*Poetics* 1450b 27), which the Roman writer Aelius Donatus called *protasis*, *epitarsis* and *catastasis*. Horace, however, wrote that a play should be no longer or shorter than five acts (*Ars Poetica* 189-190). This theory has been adapted in modern times by Gustav Freytag (1900) to what has been dubbed as Freytag's pyramid and can be applied to all works of literature, including chronicle texts. Therefore, I shall divide the commentary of this section of the *Crónica de Castilla* into five sections, corresponding to the five parts of Freytag's pyramid.

The first part of Freytag's dramatic arc is the 'exposition', which introduces the basic elements of the narrative, including the setting, characters and aspects of the major conflict. In this case, Diego López de Haro and Urraca López are introduced and discuss the succession question, which provides the background to the following episodes. The 'rising action', which describes how events develop and conflicts become more complicated come from the *Cortes* of Carrión and Diego López de Haro's exile to Navarre. The 'climax' is the turning point of the narrative, when a possible resolution to the conflict seems least likely. This occurs in the

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troops in Estella and, after the pact of the peninsular kings in Alfaro, his exile in Valencia and then in Morocco, and (iii) the taking of the castles of Monteagudo and Aguilar by the king of León and the amazing fidelity demonstrated by Marcos Gutiérrez, the vassal of Don Diego who defended the castle. The *Crónica de Castilla* also portrays Diego López de Haro as a protagonist in the Battles of Alarcos and Las Navas de Tolosa, which will be the subject of the following chapter.

*Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative with the Peace between the Christian kingdoms and Diego López' exile to Valencia and then Morocco, when his return to Leon, his natural home, appears almost impossible. The 'falling action' is a response to the 'climax'. It addresses issues related to the conflict, in this case, the sieges of Aguilar and Monteagudo. Finally, the 'denouement' or conclusion reveals the resolution of conflict which, in the story of Diego López de Haro, consists of the restoration of the feudal order symbolised by the handing back of the castle of Aguilar from Diego López to King Alfonso.

### (i) URRACA LÓPEZ DE HARO

The first appearance of Diego López de Haro in the *Crónica de Castilla* introduces a changed and unstable political situation in Leon. Upon the death of Fernando II in 1188, Alfonso IX (1188-1230), son of the late King and his first wife, Urraca of Portugal, inherited the Leonese crown. At the outset of his reign, Alfonso IX found opposition to his accession from his stepmother, and Fernando II's third wife, Urraca López de Haro. The new Queen Consort, whose royal status was registered in 1187, was already in an intimate relationship with the King by 1183 (González 1943: 154; Sánchez de Mora 2003: 279). Urraca's influence over Fernando II helped to establish the Haro clan as one of the most powerful in León:<sup>54</sup> García López de Haro (Don Diego's brother) was made *alférez*<sup>55</sup> in 1186 and Diego López himself was granted the tenancy of Leonese Extremadura in 1187 (Sánchez de Mora 2003: 279-280). The Haro family's influence over the King continued until his death on 22 January 1188, at which time they presented a strong opposition to Alfonso IX's succession to the Leonese throne. At the *Concejo de Benavente*, Alfonso IX was displaced and Urraca began to persecute him until he felt obliged to escape from the Leonese court (González 1943: 157). The Queen sought to place her own son, Sancho Fernández on the Leonese throne, opposing the Infante Alfonso, whom she maintained was illegitimate: Fernando II's first marriage to Urraca of Portugal was annulled by Pope Alexander III in 1175 due to consanguinity (see González 1943: 69-71 and 110-113). The *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of Diego López de Haro commences

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<sup>54</sup> González explains that Aldonza, sister of Fernando Rodríguez de Castro, was the initial cause of the Haro clan's influence in León, given that she was the sister-in-law of Fernando II. Indeed her sons rose through the ranks of the Leonese nobility and in January 1181, they continued in the service of the King (1943: 474). However, it is irreputable that Urraca's relationship with the Leonese king was pivotal in allowing her brothers to gain more powerful positions in Leon (ibid. 1960 I: 700-702 Cf. ibid. 1943: 150-153).

<sup>55</sup> The *alférez* or *armiger* was the second most prestigious office of state after the *mayordomo*. In royal and noble households, Simon Barton states that 'this post carried with it essentially military duties. Its holder was probably charged with levying and leading the *mesnada*, or military following, that accompanied a magnate on campaign' (1997: 59) For a study of the *alférezes* and *mayordomos* of Castile in the thirteenth century, see Veas Arteseros (1986).



as Urraca asks him to support her cause in the succession debate, and favour her son, and Diego López' nephew over Alfonso IX.

From the first moment she is introduced, the *Crónica de Castilla* presents a negative portrayal of Urraca López, describing how, during Fernando II's lifetime, the future Alfonso IX had to leave court and join the King of Portugal, his grandfather. After the burial of Fernando II, Urraca López asks her brother for support: '-Hermano, vós podedes fazer commo reyne mi fijo, sy vós quisiéredes, tanto que vós tomedes con él boz e le dedes la seña del rey que uós tenedes' (CC 275). As *alférez* to Fernando II, Diego López de Haro's support would have been instrumental in securing the throne for Sancho Fernández, as he carried the physical symbol of royal power, the standard of the King. Don Diego is confronted with the decision to ally himself with his sister or with the Infante Alfonso, and we are again reminded of the *exemplum* from the Fifth Part of *El Conde Lucanor*, and the conflict between the bonds of *naturaleza* which would tie him to his sister and those which would tie him to Alfonso, following the death of Fernando II. Diego López' response to his sister is considered and well thought through: 'non serýa cosa guissada; ca don Alfonso es mayor e él deue aver el reyno e a él darle la seña e la tierra que tengo. E a vós ayudaré yo, commo a hermana, quanto yo poder e sopier en todo vuestro derecho, mas guardarme he de tan grande yerro sy podiere e quanto podiere, en que me podría trauar los omes con derecho' (CC 275). On learning of Alfonso's arrival from Portugal, Diego López went to greet him and present him with the royal standard. The *Crónica de Castilla* then narrates that Alfonso IX sought to give the standard back to Diego López de Haro, along with the lands he had held under Fernando II, alluding to the fact that the new king wished Diego López to continue as his *alférez*. However, thanking the king, Don Diego refused and Diego instructed his sister to travel to the castles of Aguilar and Monteagudo, out of fear for her safety: 'basteçióle muy bien sus castillos, a Aguilar e a Monteagudo, por miedo que le faría mal el rey don Alfonso por quanto mal e desterramiento le ella buscaua con su padre' (CC 275).<sup>56</sup> The portrayal of how Diego López de Haro takes time to answer his sisters shows that the *Crónica de Castilla* presents him as possessing the quality of *mesura*, so highly acclaimed by medieval Castilian society. Additionally, Diego López decides that in his conflicting loyalties, his priority must be to the King, rather than his sister, though he does offer to protect Urraca López.

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<sup>56</sup> The castles of Aguilar and Monteagudo were donated to Urraca by Fernando II in 1182 (see González 1943: 154).

This first episode concerning Don Diego must be considered in the context of Fernando IV's minority and the relationship between the magnate's contemporary namesake, Diego López V de Haro. At the beginning of Fernando IV's reign, Diego López exploited the unstable political situation and entered Castile with an army in order to regain the title and lands of the Lord of Biscay. After the assassination of Diego López V's brother, Lope Díaz by Sancho IV in 1288, the title of Lord of Biscay had passed to the late Lord's son, Diego López IV and then to his daughter María Díaz. Through her marriage to the Infante Juan (brother of Sancho IV), the titles and lands of Biscay passed out of the hands of the Haro clan to him. Juan Núñez de Lara and his brother Nuño González, who María de Molina believed to be loyal vassals,<sup>57</sup> agreed to deal with Diego López de Haro's uprising but instead allied themselves with Diego López, as the *Crónica de Fernando IV* describes: 'prometiéronle de le facer dar Vizcaya e si gela non quisiere dar luego la Reina, que tomasen por rey otro cual quisiere don Diego' (*CFIV* 93). Later that year, at the *Cortes* of Valladolid, the Queen Regent, facing further uprisings from the Infante Enrique, Fernando IV's great-uncle (1230-1303), was forced to concede tutorship of the king, to the Infante Enrique although she was able to retain guardianship over her son. María de Molina also made an agreement with Diego López de Haro and Juan Núñez de Lara, promising she would grant Diego López the titles and estates of Biscay, except Orduña and Valmadedá, in order to guarantee that the noblemen continued to support her rather than de la Cerda's claim to the throne (González Mínguez 1976: 32), although Suárez Fernández has described this support as a 'vago sentimiento de fidelidad popular' (1970: 348). The Infante Juan meanwhile continued to argue that by his wife's place in the line of succession, he remained the lawful Lord of Biscay.

There is a clear contextual parallel between Diego López II and Diego López V. Both were powerful magnates in their respective Courts. Both had sisters married into the royal families of León and Castile, respectively. The difference is that whereas the Diego López de Haro in the *Crónica de Castilla* maintains Alfonso IX's right to the throne of León and is a loyal vassal to the new King, the Diego López of the *presente de la crónica* failed in his

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<sup>57</sup> Before his death, Sancho IV held an audience with Juan Núñez, when he made the following petition: 'Don Juan Núñez, bien sabedes cómo llegastes a mí moço sin barvas et fize vos mucha merçed, lo uno en casamiento que vos di bueno, et lo otro en tierra et en cuantía, et ruego vos que pues que yo so tan mal andante como vos vedes, que Si yo muriere, que nunca vos desamparedes al infante don Ferrando, mi fijo, fasta quel aya barvas. Et otrosí que sirvades a la reina en toda su vida, ca mucho vos lo meresciôc a vos et a vuestro linaje. Et si lo [vos] así fizieredes, Dios vos lo galardone, et si non, él vos lo demande en el lugar. Do más menester lo oviéredes". Et respondió él et dixo: "Señor todo esto" yo lo conosco que así es et yo vos fago pleito et omenaje de lo [cumplir] así, et si non, Dios me lo demande. Amen." Et después desto moró el rey en Madrid bien un mes et don Juan Núñez fuese para Castilla' (*CSIV*: 180-181).

obligations to the new king. This introduction to the characters of Diego López II and V de Haro provides the context to the following parts of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s portrayal of a model vassal as an example to the noblemen at the court of Fernando IV.

## **(ii) THE ASSEMBLY OF CARRIÓN AND DIEGO LÓPEZ DE HARO'S EXILE TO NAVARRE**

The following chapter narrates how soon after Alfonso VIII was crowned, the king of Castile and Sancho I of Portugal entered into conflict with Alfonso IX of Leon (see González 1960 I: 703-705). In the stalemate which follows, so the *Crónica de Castilla* describes, Alfonso VIII took the King of Leon as his vassal in a ceremony at the *Cortes* of Carrión, where Alfonso IX symbolically kissed the hands of his cousin. Together with the Imperial Coronation of Alfonso VII in 1135 and Alfonso VIII reaching adulthood in 1170, the assembly at Carrión has been described by José Manuel Cerda as 'one of the most significant political events of the twelfth century (2010: 576; 2012: 643).<sup>58</sup> The kissing of hands, which Bloch (1962: 228) and Le Goff (1977: 355-356) note is a traditional Castilian practice<sup>59</sup> marked the symbolic assertion of Castile's dominance over the formerly hegemonic Leon. This not only changed the political environment of the Iberian Peninsula, but the alliance forged between the two Kingdoms in this act also left the frontier castles owned by the Haros and where Urraca López had been residing along the Castilian-Leonese border, isolated and vulnerable to attack from both Castile and Leon (González 1960 I: 705; 707). This alliance also forced Diego López, who had been a prominent member of the Castilian court, into further exile. Indeed, he held the office of *alférez* to Alfonso VIII between 29 September 1188 and 1199, when González notes he left because of hostilities regarding the castles of Monteagudo and Águilar (González 1960 I: 245).

The same chapter of the *Crónica de Castilla* also includes a concise depiction of Alfonso IX as king, portraying him in a contrasting way compared with the textual tradition of the *De rebus Hispaniae*. Lucas de Tuy presents a positive image of the King of Leon in the *Chronicón Mundi* and, in line with its pro-Leonese ideology, states 'Hic fuit pulcher, eloquens, clemens, fortis uiribus et armis strenuus et in fide catholica solidatus' (CM IV 82). In time, the positive qualities attributed to Alfonso IX become gradually more negative. Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *Historia gothica* describes the Alfonso IX as 'pius, strenuus et benignus, set

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<sup>58</sup> The same chapter also describes how Conrad of Swabia also attended the Assembly, where he too was knighted by Alfonso VIII and a marriage was arranged between Conrad and Berenguela, the eldest daughter of Alfonso and Leonor, as described in the previous chapter of this thesis.

<sup>59</sup> The practice of *besamanos* is also described in the *Leyenda del Abad Juan de Montemayor* and the *Cantar de Mio Cid* (see Menéndez Pidal 1934: 61).

susurronum uicissitudine mutabatur' (*DRH* VII.XXIV), a sentiment which the *Versión sanchina* of the *Estoria de España* expands on: 'fue uaron piadoso et libre en las cosas que eran de fazer, et benigno, esto es de buen alma; mas acogiesse mucho a dichos de murmuradores quel murmuriau y ruyen a la oreia y loseniauan' (*PCG* 676b). Rodríguez-Peña Sainz de la Maza argues that the more negative portrayal of Alfonso IX in the Toledano, highlighted by the King's readiness to believe rumours, in contrast to Rodrigo's depiction of the young Alfonso VIII is a clear example of the Archbishop's ideology of Castilian superiority (2017: 145; Cf. Martin 1992: 261).

However, this is not necessarily a negative portrayal of the young King, rather it is the 'mumurradores', or noblemen who offer bad advice who may be considered as the true object of the chronicles' negativity. The Toledano and the *Versión sanchina* portray a nobility who were not fulfilling their duty of offering good *consilium* to their King, contrary to the Alfonsine legal code in the *Partidas*:

otrosí debe tener [el rey] hombres señalados y sabios y entendidos y leales y verdaderos que le ayuden y le sirvan de hecho en aquellas cosas que son menester para su consejo y para hacer justicia y derecho a la gente, pues él solo no podría ver ni librar todas las cosas (*SP* II I.III).

As such, in order to suppress this criticism of Alfonso IX's nobility, the opening of the *Crónica de Castilla*, omits any negative images of Alfonso IX's rule, stating only that 'salió muy bueno e muy piadoso e muy buen cavallero' (*CC* 275b). However, a criticism of Alfonso IX, inherited from the *Historia gothica* and the Alfonsine history is included in the arrangements of his marriage with Theresa of Portugal.<sup>60</sup> The *Crónica de Castilla* narrates that Alfonso 'era omne que se mudaua mucho ayna por consejeros e por lisonjeros. E por consejo d'ellos, cassó con dona Teresa [...] por fazer pesar al rey don Alfonso de Castilla, ca se tenía por maltrecho porque reçebiera d'él cavallería' (*CC* 275b). This behaviour is the opposite of the Castilian hero, the Cid – a personification of the perfect lord, who is always *mesurado*.<sup>61</sup> Quickly making

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<sup>60</sup> The marriage between Alfonso IX and Theresa of Portugal lasted until 1194, when Pope Celestine III ordered that the marriage be dissolved (Fernández Valdeverde 1989: 294 n. 135). The Toledano refers to the couple's consanguinity – they were cousins; Alfonso's mother, Urraca, was the sister of Sancho I of Portugal: 'licet essent consanguinei in secundo gradu' (*DRH* VII.XXIV). It is likely that this detail is omitted in the *Crónica de Castilla* in order not to reflect on María de Molina's own marriage. Much like Alfonso IX and Theresa, she and Sancho IV were second cousins and the question of Fernando IV's illegitimacy was among the principal causes of the civil war during the start of his reign.

<sup>61</sup> See Rico (1993: XXXIX-XL) and Montaner (1993: CXI), who also highlights a wider bibliography on the *mesura* of the Cid (note 57).

decisions and not thinking thoroughly about which advice to accept was not a positive attribute for a medieval king but acquits the nobility of any feudal wrongdoings.

These subtle textual innovations found in the *Crónica de Castilla* regarding the reign of Alfonso IX must be considered in relation to its narrative of Diego López de Haro, who is the protagonist of this section of narrative. At the very start of Alfonso IX's reign, Diego López would have been set to become one of his chief advisors. However, due to the new King's hatred towards his stepmother, Urraca López. Diego López de Haro leaves the Kingdom of Leon and is documented as being at the Castilian court by September 1188, (Baury 2011: 61). The omission of the negative portrayal of the bad counsellors in the *Crónica de Castilla*, which is contained in the earlier chronicles, implicitly excludes Diego López de Haro from offering bad advice at a time when he would have been in Leon. This is consistent with his portrayal as a good vassal during his interaction with Urraca López in the previous chapter of the text. The relationship between the authors of the chronicles and members of the House of Haro who would have been his contemporaries would have dictated the portrayal of Diego López; his inferred inclusion as a 'murmurador' in the Toledano and the *Estoria de España* is to be expected. Diego López III de Haro was in plain conflict with Fernando III, whom Rodrigo served as Chancellor and Archbishop of Toledo. Diego López III was first disgraced in 1236 and left Fernando's court again in 1242 (Baury 2003: 63-64; 2011: 65-66). The compilers of the *Estoria de España* only used the *Historia gothica* as a source for this section of narrative (Baury 2011: 66-70), which explains the similarities between the two texts. In the *Crónica de Castilla*, however, it seems that the Molinist author sought to suppress any negative or unchivalric actions which may be attached to the figure of Diego López de Haro, consistent with the image of the loyal nobleman which the *Crónica de Castilla* aims to spread into popular thirteenth-century memory.

The main focus of the chapter which follows is Diego López de Haro's self-exile from Castile to Navarre. Baury (2003: 41-42) explains that Diego López was in Navarre between 1201 and 1206, though the only documentary evidence of his presence is one charter from the Navarrese monastery of Irache, dating from 1201 (Lacarra 1965: 241). González notes that the last time Don Diego appears at a *curia* of Alfonso VIII was 12 September 1201 (1960 I: 860), although he had ceased to hold the office of *alférez* a year earlier, as already stated. The motives for Diego López' self-exile are unknown (Valdeverde 1989: 303 n.173) The first will and testament of Alfonso VIII, written in 1204, notes that the magnate left of his own initiative (González 1960 III: doc. 769, see particularly p. 343), however González cites the conflict

between Alfonso IX of Leon and Urraca López as a possible reason for Diego López de Haro's self-exile from Castile (1960 I: 861). Indeed, the *Crónica de Castilla* argues that the self-exile of Diego López de Haro from Castile occurred because Alfonso IX of Leon asked his uncle, Alfonso VIII, for military aid to besiege the castles of Aguilar and Monteagudo, which had been donated to Urraca López by Fernando II (CC 276a). This would imply that the *Crónica de Castilla* continues its narrative as the decade-long peace between the King of Leon and his stepmother was coming to an end and that Alfonso IX sought to deal with the situation, and eradicate the succession problem once and for all. The Treaty of Tordehumos (1194) was motivated by a need to restore peace between the warring Leon and Castile and, among other edicts, sought to put an end to Urraca López' claim to the Leonese throne on behalf of her son, Sancho, known as *el Castellano*.<sup>62</sup> Cardinal Gregory, who had been sent by the Pope to broker the treaty, imposed a ten-year truce between Alfonso IX and Urraca López de Haro. This would imply that the *Crónica de Castilla* continues its narrative in the year 1204.

The *Historia gothica* narrates that, when in Navarre, Diego López de Haro caused great problems for the Castilians (VII.XXXIII). One such incident may have been a fire in Vitoria in 1202 (see González 1960 I: 861), which was documented as taking place on 11 April in the *Cronicon Burgense* (ES XXXII 309).<sup>63</sup> Most twelfth and thirteenth-century chronicles from across the Iberian Peninsula also contain a description of the siege of Estella by the Kings of Castile and Leon. According to the *Versión sanchina*, such was the destruction and violence brought about by the siege that 'destruxieron todo antes lo que estaua aderredor de la villa, vinna et Huertas et quanto y fallaron, que fue grand danno de los moradores de la villa' (PCG 685a). While the extent of the destruction of the battle is not alluded to in Navarrese texts, such as García de Euguí's *Crónica general de España*<sup>64</sup> (CGE 257, 297) or the *Crónica del Príncipe*

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<sup>62</sup> Importantly, the Treaty of Tordehumos stipulated that if Alfonso IX died without giving an heir, the crown would pass to the King of Castile: 'Mandamus etiam quod si regem Legionis contingerit sine herede decedere, regnum eius ad regem Castelle devolvatur' (González 1960 III: 344 doc. 622). See Martínez Díez (2007: 67-68), González (1960 I: 712-715) and Tindall-Robertson (2014: 120-122).

<sup>63</sup> The *Chronicon Burgense*, published in Enrique Flórez' *España Sagrada* (ES XXIII: 307-310) is a collection of annals, named after the Cathedral at Burgos where it was discovered. Together with the *Annales Compostellani* (ES XXIII: 317-324) and the *Chronicon Ambrosianum* (ES XXIII: 304-305), the text forms part of the *Efemérides riojanas*, so called because they may have been written in La Rioja (Conerly 1993 I: 469). The *Chronicon Burgense* details history from the Nativity of Jesus until the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212).

<sup>64</sup> García de Euguí's *Crónica* mainly follows the narrative structure of the Toledano (Orcastegui Gros 1978: 547; 550-551) but contains a genealogy of the Kings of Navarre. Eyzaguirre Rouse first edited the text, based on two manuscripts (1908), while more recently, Orcastegui Gros has published a partial edition (1978: 557-572) and Aengus Ward (1999b) has edited the whole text based on nine manuscripts. I shall cite Carmen Orcastegui's edition, using the abbreviation CGE. For a biography of García de Euguí, see Honore-Duverge (1942) and for the text and its place in Navarrese historiography, see Ward (1999a).

*de Viana*<sup>65</sup> (CPV 150), these chronicles do confirm that such a siege took place. The *Crónica de Castilla*, however, does not mention the Battle of Estella (Hijano Villegas 2014: 37 n. 59), instead narrating that ‘allý ovo vn tornea muy famado a que dixieron del “estrella”, porque fue muy ferida, que ally se provaron en armas muchos cavalleros’ (CC 276a). The *Crónica de 1344* follows the narration of the *Crónica de Castilla*, as described above. Hijano Villegas argues that the addition of this new material on Diego López de Haro to that of the Toledano is done with great care (2014: 36-37 n. 59), perhaps in order to maintain the exemplary figure of Diego López de Haro, who would never have entered into open conflict with the Kings of Castile and Leon, his Lords prior to his self-exile. This depiction of Diego López as the idealised knight is similar to the feeling of *naturaleza* which the Cid feels about Alfonso VI during his self-exile in the *Cantar de Mio Cid* (see Bautista 2007 and Pattison 1997).

### (iii) PEACE BETWEEN THE CHRISTIAN KINGS AND DIEGO LÓPEZ’ CONFLICT WITH ARAGON

After lifting the siege on Estella, the Kings returned to their kingdoms and a peace treaty was established between the Christian kingdoms of Castile, Leon and Navarre. This caused Don Diego to exile himself again, this time to Morocco. Dating this peace treaty has proved challenging to historians and many scholars have differing views as to which event it refers. Valdeverde (1989: 303 n. 174) argues that the *De rebus Hispaniae*’s description of the treaty refers to the Peace of Guadalajara, which took place in 1207.<sup>66</sup> The main protagonist in this peace treaty was Jiménez de Rada, who was perfectly placed to negotiate between the Castilians and Navarrese due to his family’s Castellano-Navarrese background (see Fernández Valdeverde 1989: 19). Although the Toledano’s own chronicle and the *Versión sanchina* do not mention the Archbishop in their accounts of the Peace of Guadalajara, the Navarrese chronicles which are hypertexts of the *Historia gothica*, state that the Archbishop was responsible for brokering peace between the Kingdoms (CGE 567; CPV 150). For its part, the *Crónica abreviada* does not mention a protagonist in the negotiations, which confirms Hijano Villegas’ argument that its narrative is based on the *Versión sanchina* (2014: 35). However, Martínez Díez describes how the Treaty of Guadalajara was achieved by good Aragonese

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<sup>65</sup> Carlos, the first Prince of Viana, wrote his chronicle to be the first “official” national history’ of Navarre and to justify his claim to the throne (Lacarra 1978: 7). The text was begun around 1451 and finished in 1454, during which time the Prince was incarcerated by his father, Jaime II of Aragon. For a historical account of the civil war in Navarre surrounding the succession crisis of the fifteenth century, see Lacarra (1973 III: 267-300). The *Crónica* has been edited by Orcastegui Gros (1978b), which I shall reference as *CPV*.

<sup>66</sup> Crespo López agrees with this hypothesis (2015: 8-9), citing Ballesteros Gaibrois (1926: 40 and 1941: 68-69). The first historian to make this argument was Garibay (1628 II: XXII.XXXI n. 146).

officials, and not by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (2007: 204). Moreover, Valdeverde states that Alfonso IX of Leon was not present when the Peace of Guadalajara was signed (1989: 303 n. 174) yet the *De rebus Hispaniae* explicitly states that the peace involved Leon.

The *Crónica de Castilla*, innovates on the Toledan discourse, instead describing the Treaty of Alfaro which it explicitly names. This peace treaty took place several years before the Treaty of Guadalajara, though details on the meeting in Alfaro are vague. Zurita acknowledges that there are doubts as to the credibility of the events surrounding Diego López and his further exile to Valencia (1610: 92), and González states that ‘con certeza no se sabe el año en que se celebraron [las treguas]’ (1960 I: 863 n. 98). Martínez Díez dates the meeting in Alfaro to 1203 (2007: 195) and González argues that if the meeting in Alfaro took place in 1204, it must have been in July or August (1960 I: 863). Based on the ten-year truce agreed at Tordehumos coming to an end in 1204, it is not unreasonable to assume that the *Crónica de Castilla* is correct in its narration that the peace treaty referred to is that of Alfaro and not Guadalajara.

The *Crónica de Castilla* describes that ‘ayuntáronse los reyes de Castilla e de Navarra e de Aragón e de León, e vino aý doña Sancha, madre del rey don Pedro de Aragón, e ovieron vistas en Alfaro. E allý los abinió la reyna doña Sancha, que sopo meter mucho byen entr’ellos’ (CC 276a). This account is also found in the *Crónica de veinte reyes*, cited by González as the *Crónica de Once Reyes* (1960 I: 862). As the *Crónica de veinte reyes* begins to depend on the *Crónica de Castilla* after the death of Fernando II, as previously discussed, it is unsurprising that they recount the same version of events. It is probable, therefore, that this account of the Peace Treaty is based on the same source, perhaps contained in the *\*Cuaderno alfonsí*.

The protagonism of Queen Sancha in arranging the peace treaty, which is contained in the *Crónica de Castilla*, is also historically uncertain. The *Anales del Reino de Aragón* states that the meeting in Alfaro took place ‘por instancia de la reyna doña Sancha’ (Zurita 1610: 92), which González also argues is true: ‘indudablemente la acción de doña Sancha fue beneficiosa’ (1960 I: 863). However, Lacarra places a certain amount of doubt as to whether the Queen was responsible for the peace treaty (1972 II: 101). The question of the historicity of the role that Sancha may, or may not, have played is, however, less significant than the question of why one of the first times she appears in this role is in the *Crónica de Castilla*’s narration. Making Sancha, Queen Mother of Pedro II of Aragón, responsible for the peace between the Christian Kingdoms of Iberia, emphasises the valuable role women could play in politics and draws a



clear parallel to María de Molina. A Queen Mother, who could establish peace between the Christian Kingdoms of Spain was certainly a figure with which María de Molina would have wished to align herself. This is similar way to the parallels drawn between her and Queens Sancha and Berengaria and further illustrates the Molinist creation of a 'regia femenina' in the *Crónica de Castilla* (see Gómez Redondo 2012: 70).

The same chapter continues its narrative by describing Diego López de Haro's exile from Navarre following the peace treaty between the Christian kingdoms. Diego López travelled to Valencia where, together with the Moors, he began to make war against the Kingdom of Aragon. The *Crónica de Castilla* narrates that when the Aragonese army arrived at the city walls, Don Diego was given a place to defend. The King of Aragon was fighting near Diego López when he had to dismount his horse which had been injured. Seeing this, Don Diego gave him another horse which the King then mounted. The Moors were angered by Diego López de Haro's actions; they had been betrayed by the man who could have killed the King of Aragon, against whom he was supposed to be fighting. Diego López, however, replied to them, saying 'non ploguiese a Dios que lo él touiese d'esta guise al nieto del emperador' (CC 276a). The clear chivalric conviction of Diego López de Haro to defend his enemy in such a way shows how he places a higher importance on the concept of *naturaleza* than on that of his feudal bond to the Moors. Although Diego López was Castilian, there would have existed a 'natural' bond between him and Pedro II of Aragon, because, as the text explains, he was the grandson of Alfonso VII *el Emperador* – his mother was the fifth child of Alfonso VII and his first wife, Berengaria of Barcelona (Cf. SP IV XXIV.II). This presents a complication to the figure of Don Diego's attitude towards loyalty. Two chapters previously, although he prioritised loyalty to Fernando II above loyalty to his sister when she asked him for aid, he remained loyal to her as well by defending the castles of Monteagudo and Aguilar for her protection. This is further proof that the *Crónica de Castilla* is a text in transition between Alfonsine and Manueline thoughts on chivalry, as discussed in chapter one, because, although it recognises the bonds of feudal vassalage, it prioritises Diego López' natural bonds first to his King, then to his family, and lastly, his feudal tie to the Moors. The use of historiography by the Molinist chronicler was important in asserting Fernando IV's authority over Diego López V de Haro and would have served as a reminder to him that his namesake, Diego López II was a loyal natural subject who demonstrated the correct way of prioritising vassalage.

#### (iv) THE SIEGES OF MONTEAGUDO AND ÁGUILAR

After this episode detailing Diego López' actions in Navarre and Valencia, in the following chapter the narrative focus returns to Leon, where Alfonso IX's troops attack the castles of Aguilar and Monteagudo, held by the forces of Urraca López. Monteagudo falls to the Leonese after the defenders' commander (the *alcaide*) was killed by an arrow (CC 276b). However, the siege of Aguilar lasts much longer, thanks to the brave actions of its *alcaide*. Rochwert-Zuili's edition of the *Crónica de Castilla* names him Diego Márquez, while other manuscripts (see Hijano Villegas 2014: 36 n. 59), the *Crónica de 1344* (295) and several critics identify him as Marcos Gutiérrez (Hijano Villegas 2011: 122 n. 9; Castro 2010; Becerro de Bengoa 1993: 214-215; Huidobro Serna 1954: 77). Meanwhile, Francisco Bautista dubs the *alcaide* Marcos Fernández (2014: 101), which appears in Lorenzo's Gallego-Portuguese edition of the text (1975: 727), while Ghislain Baury calls him Marco Gutiérrez de Buñate (2003: 76).<sup>67</sup> The commander of Aguilar is portrayed as the model vassal in the *Crónica de Castilla*: he defended the castle for seven years under a siege which saw the defenders' supplies exhausted:

E fallecióle la vianda e fallecióle la gente, los vnos que se fueron con fanbre, los otros que se morieron, de guisa que ovo de fincar solo en el Castillo. E anparando el castillo, comió todas las cosas que tenían que de comer eran, e comió los cueros de las sillas, e las correas, e los mures, e todas las cosas que podía aver, e paçía las yeruas, en guisa que le falleció quanto tenía, que non tenía a qué tornar. E con grand flaqueza, que non ovo qué comer, tomó las llaues del castillo en la mano e dexóse caer atraesado en medio de la puerta del castillo' (CC 276-277).

Yet, the Leonese forces, unaware that their enemy had been vanquished, continued besieging the castle until they reached the gate and saw Marcos Gutiérrez on the ground, 'sin acuerdo ninguno, que yazía atraesado ante la Puerta, las llaues en la mano' (CC 277a). The Leonese soldiers took Marcos Gutiérrez in their arms, and cared for him, putting water on his face and when he opened his eyes, they did everything they could to keep him alive. The *Crónica de Castilla* then continues, saying 'el rey don Alfonso fízole muncha onrra e mucho bien, por el bien que él fizo por anparar el castillo, e fue muy loado por todas las tierras la su nonbradía' (CC 277a). Marcos Gutiérrez remained a faithful vassal to Diego López de Haro until what he imagined would be his last dying breath. Additionally, despite being his enemy, Alfonso IX honoured him for his steadfast loyalty to his feudal lord (in a similar way that Manrique de Lara was praised for his loyalty to his natural lord by Fernando Rodríguez at the Council of

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<sup>67</sup> I shall use the name Marcos Gutiérrez, which is found in the most number of sources.

Soria, as discussed in chapter one. The inclusion of this episode in the Diego López de Haro narrative demonstrates the lengths to which the model Molinist vassal should be prepared to go in the service of his master and shows that there would be a great reward in return for such faithfulness. This implies that in this case the feudal exchange of *servitium* and *beneficium* are prized, rather than a simple bond of *naturaliza*. The change in priorities which the *Crónica de Castilla* appears to exhibit in this case further demonstrates the transitory nature of the text in relation to the concept of loyalty.

#### (v) DIEGO LÓPEZ'S RETURN FROM EXILE

The chronicle then describes Don Diego's return from Morocco, and how Marcos Gutiérrez, now a knight, seeks out his former master. The elevation of Marcos Gutiérrez to the rank of knight demonstrates the honour of which the Leonese King believed Marcos Gutiérrez to be worthy for his brave defence of Aguilar. The *fijosdalgos* who were with Diego López de Haro began praising Marcos Gutiérrez, 'deziendo ante don Diego commo era buen cauallero e feziero mucho bien' (CC 277a). Diego López replied, "'verdat es", que era buen cauallero mas que quería el su castillo si ge lo diese' (ibid.). Although Marcos Gutiérrez defended the castle as well as he could, Diego López de Haro ironically points out that Marcos Gutiérrez had not been able to return the castle to him, thus fulfilling his duty. The knight, whose honour had been damaged, went to Alfonso IX, worried that the world would see him as a traitor ('aleuoso') and a disloyal vassal. The King granted the castle to Don Marcos with the instruction that he should then give it to Diego López de Haro, thus countering his perceived failure to keep Aguilar for his former lord. Don Diego, however, refuses the castle and decrees that it should be given to the King of Leon:

E el rey entonçe diole su carta e su portero commo le entregasen el castillo, e mandóle que le diese a don Diego, e que saluase su verdat e que quitasse su omenaje. E desde que el cauallero fue entregado del castillo, envió dezir a don Diego que enviase o veniese tomar él el castillo. E don Diego entonçe enbióle mandar que lo entregase al rey de León. E d'esta guisa fincó quito e cumplió todo su derecho (CC 277).

With this, all the feudal duties of the three men – king, nobleman and knight – are fulfilled and Diego López de Haro is once again honoured in Leon. González notes that he appears at the Leonese court on 27 April 1204 (1960 I: 863), when tensions between the Leonese King and Alfonso VIII rose and their relationship broke down after Alfonso IX's separation from

Berengaria in May 1204 (see Shadis 2009: 70). Moreover, in June, Diego López was awarded the tenancy of León and in November, that of Sarria and Toro (González 1960 I: 306).

## CONCLUSIONS

The journey of the figure of Diego López de Haro in the *Crónica de Castilla* closely follows the narrative structure established by classical scholars and set out by Freytag (1900). Indeed, the fall and rise of the character of Diego López de Haro and the conflict between him and other characters in the episode follow Freytag's model of 'play and counter-play' between the hero (Diego López) and the antagonist (Alfonso IX), which concludes with the reconciliation of the Leonese King and his loyal nobleman. A similar structure is found in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, in which the Cid must recover his honour after he is exiled from Castile.

The *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative on Diego López de Haro portrays an exemplary nobleman, who personifies the ideal union between king and vassal. The image of Diego López appears to redefine his negative portrayals in previous texts. Bautista argues that these actions are worthy of the reader's admiration and surprise due to his sense of duty and for his valour (2014: 104-105). Diego López' unwavering loyalty to the King is shown through his unwillingness to support his sister, Urraca López, and a sense of familial *naturaleza* is shown when he aids the King of Aragon during the battle at Valencia. Moreover, the *Crónica de Castilla*'s suppression of the Siege of Estella demonstrates that the figure of Diego López whom the text seeks to recast in an idealised figure does not fight against the kings of Castile and Leon. Additionally, the removal of the reference to the *murmuradores* at the court of Leon at a time when Diego López was one of the chief magnates of the kingdom also demonstrates the author's goal of eradicating any negative portrayals of the figure of Diego López de Haro.

However, in addition to his loyalty to Alfonso IX, Diego López de Haro does not forget the familial bonds which tie him to his sister. Rather, he fortifies the castles of Monteagudo and Aguilar to keep her safe. In this case, Diego López de Haro must prioritise where his loyalties lie. In the end, he decides that he must place loyalty to Alfonso IX over that to his sister, but he still finds a way to help her. The *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration allows Diego López to remain loyal to both parties. His sense of justice means he gives the royal standard to Alfonso IX and his sense of loyalty to his sister makes him feels obliged to exile himself, first from Leon, and then from Castile when Alfonso VIII forms an alliance with Alfonso IX to eliminate the threat posed by Urraca López. The loyalty of Marcos Gutiérrez to Diego López

de Haro is also exalted in the *Crónica de Castilla*. His defence of Aguilar is considered such a heroic deed that he is rewarded by Alfonso IX and praised by the *fijosdalgos*.

The idealised image of Diego López de Haro in the *Crónica de Castilla* portrays a different figure to that of previous historiographical works. Rather, the chronicler makes it an example for the members of the nobility at the time of the text's composition, notably the descendants of Diego López who, as Bautista notes, posed a serious threat to the continuation of the noble lineage (2014: 110). The use of Diego López de Haro as an *exemplo* for chivalric behaviour continues the *Crónica de Castilla* portrayal of knightly behaviour during the minority of Alfonso VIII but in this case, demonstrates only the positive traits which a model vassal should possess.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NOBILITY IN THE RECONQUEST:

### THE BATTLES OF ALARCOS AND LAS NAVAS DE TOLOSA

If, as Bouthoul (1973: 5) has argued, history is born out of war,<sup>68</sup> then the foundations of medieval Spain were built on the conflict between the Christians and the Muslims that took place throughout the Middle Ages. This conflict became a crusade for the Christians and is commonly referred to as the *Reconquista*.<sup>69</sup> One of the defining moments of the seven-century long reconquest of Spain took place in 1212, during Alfonso VIII's reign. The Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (or simply the Battle of Las Navas) marked the first great Christian victory since the reign of Alfonso VII *el Emperador* and saw the coming together of the northern Christian Kingdoms in battle for the first time. It marked a turning point in the Christian history of Iberia.

By 1093,<sup>70</sup> the Almoravid dynasty ruled the Muslim-occupied south of Spain. The Caliphate of Cordoba, the unified kingdom controlled by the Almoravids was broken up in around 1145 into smaller Taifa states, independent Muslim principalities. By 1151, the Almohads, a more radical Muslim dynasty, who were now the most powerful group in North Africa took control over Al-Andalus, and reunited the smaller Taifas to form a large and powerful Caliphate once more.

Alfonso VIII's great victory at Las Navas de Tolosa is, however, not the only battle against the Almohads which is narrated in the *Crónica de Castilla*. In 1195, the Castilian army

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<sup>68</sup> 'La guerre [...] a enfanté l'histoire'. The translation is from Danel (2017: 3 n. 1). See also, Alvira Cabrer 2000, whose thesis is based on this statement.

<sup>69</sup> Alvira Cabrer has provided an extensive bibliography on the ideological question of crusade (2000: 110 n. 16). See also Rodríguez (1995), who uses documentary evidence to make a detailed comparison of the Reconquista and the Crusades of Jerusalem.

<sup>70</sup> For a history of Muslim Spain until the start of the Almoravid Empire, see Barton 2009: 22-53.

suffered a great defeat during the Battle of Alarcos, which ‘sent shock waves through the whole of Christendom (Linehan 2011: 40). The weak and unstable political situation which was caused by Castile’s defeat also allowed the Aragonese and Navarrese to attack Castile and consolidate more territory (Alvira Cabrer 2000: 170-171; Barton 2009: 66). Francisco Bautista has described the *Crónica de Castilla*’s description of these two battles as a diptych (2014: 102). Indeed, the Iberian chroniclers of the thirteenth century considered that the Castilian defeat at Alarcos was the principal cause of the Battle of Las Navas, an assertion which is discussed by Alvira Cabrer (1996; Cf. Alvira Cabrer 2000: 170-172). The *Crónica de Castilla*’s narration of these two battles offers a further example of textual innovation compared to the *Historia gothica* and the *Versión sanchina* and its modifications on the discourse which it inherited then portrays an alternative depiction of the battles of Alarcos and Las Navas. In the *Crónica de Castilla*, there is an added focus on the behaviour of members of the Castilian nobility and Diego López de Haro is a notable protagonist in both battles. This chapter will analyse these textual innovations by comparing the *Crónica de Castilla*’s narrative with previous chronicle texts, especially with Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada’s *Historia gothica* and will provide a commentary on the Molinist ideology which the *Crónica de Castilla* presents, particularly in relation to Diego López de Haro and completes the U-shaped narrative structure which also includes the episode of Jewess of Toledo and the foundation of Las Huelgas.

## **THE BATTLE OF ALARCOS (1195)**

In 1190, Alfonso VIII had sent ambassadors to the Almohad Caliph, Abu Yusuf Yaquub, to solicit a truce in the conflict that had existed previously between Castile and the Almohad Caliphate (see Martínez Díez 2007: 87-117; González I 1960: 924-946). After the truce was signed, Castile was free from Almohad attacks until 1194 (Ruiz Gómez 1996: 147; Cf. González 1960 I: 947-949). In 1194, Alfonso VIII began attacking the region of Seville. The Treaty of Tordehumos had been signed that year and the prospect of the united forces of the Castilians and the Leonese reignited the idea of the Christian reconquest (Martínez Díez 2007: 122). In order to restore control in Al-Andalus, the Caliph crossed the Mediterranean so he could lead an expedition against the Christians. The armies met at Alarcos on 19 June 1195.

The Toledano offers a very concise description of the Battle of Alarcos. This is understandable because Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada would have sought to diminish any description of such a significant military defeat. The narrative uses biblical language and goes to great lengths to defame the invading Almohad armies, including its description of their

crossing of the Mediterranean and the Iberian people's hunger which followed them throughout Al-Andalus (*DRH* VII. XXIX). However, the Archbishop's description of the battle is only a few lines long and the only detail provided is that Alfonso VIII narrowly escaped with his life, having fallen from his horse, only to be rescued by his troops. The *Historia gothica* states that Alfonso VIII would have rather died than be saved, which is consistent with the Toledano's portrayal of King Alfonso as a great warrior (see Rodríguez Peña Sainz de la Maza 2016: 77-90). The *Versión sanchina* is a direct translation of the Toledano, and the *Crónica abreviada* also appears to follow this narrative tradition, simply stating that 'fue vencido el rey don Alfonso e muertos muchos de los suyos' (CA 788).

The *Crónica de Castilla* describes how, knowing that the Caliph's forces were invading, Alfonso VIII arrived at Alarcos with a small army to meet them (CC 278). The text then states that 'con gran loçania de corazón, non quiso attender munchos que le venían en ayuda, nin quiso atender el rey de León nin el rey de Navarra, mas attendiólo con sus ricos omnes e con sus concejos que él pudo auer más a mano' (ibid.). Linehan argues that 'Alfonso's impetuosity in engaging the enemy in advance of the arrival of the Kings of León and Navarre and with only token Portuguese support' was one of the causes of the Castilian defeat at Alarcos (2011: 40-41). Once more, the *Crónica de Castilla* places great significance on the Cidian characteristic of *mesura* and shows how not possessing this quality could contribute to such a disaster as the defeat at Alarcos.

The *Crónica de Castilla*, however, goes on to offer two further details of the battle which also can be seen as causes for the Castilian defeat. The text narrates that Diego López de Haro and other *fijosdalgos* believed that the King held them in contempt because of the praise he had given to the *caballeros villanos*. Alfonso VIII extolled the latter's virtues of loyalty and strength in battle, which were characteristics that the *Partidas* required of the nobility (as previously discussed): 'dixiera que tan buenos eran los caualleros de las villas de Estremadura, e como los fijosdalgo, e tan bien encavalgantes e tan bien armados commo ellos' (CC 278-279). The *Crónica de Castilla* states that the members of the upper nobility did not participate in the battle, 'ca non eran con el rey sus coraçones d'ellos, porque touieron que les dixiera grand desonrra' (CC 279). The chronicler partly blames the noblemen whose sense of superiority over the lower nobility had been threatened and who did not support Alfonso VIII despite the fact it nevertheless remained their duty, for the Castilian defeat at Alarcos: 'non quiso Dios que los christianos saliesen ende onrrados, ca non eran de vn coraçon nin ayudaron a su señor commo devían' (ibid.). The narration of Alfonso VIII's rescue in the *Crónica de*



*Castilla* describes that ‘sacaron ende sus vassallos por fuerça, ca él ý quisiera morir, mas non lo dexaron’ (ibid.). The vassals which the text describes must be the ‘caualleros de las villas de Estremadura’, whom the *Crónica de Castilla* also describes as belonging to Alfonso VIII’s *concejos*. They were loyal to the last and rescued the King from certain death. The *Crónica de Castilla*’s portrayal of the ideal union between the crown and the nobility, which Rochwert-Zuili describes as one of the fundamental characteristics of Molinism (2010: 37), becomes more complex in this episode because of the conflict between the *ricos omnes* and the *caballeros* urbanos. It seems the latter group had gained the upper hand because the members of the upper nobility who belonged to the oldest and most prestigious lineages in the Kingdom, refused to fight with the king as they felt dishonoured by Alfonso VIII. Rochwert-Zuili notes that the *Crónica de Castilla*’s narrative on the Cid marks the assimilation and promotion of the *caballeria urbana* into a noble class (2010: 23). This is also demonstrated in the Battle of Alarcos by assigning the qualities which the *Siete Partidas* attribute to the nobility, to the members of the *concejos*.

The idea that Diego López de Haro, together with the other *ricos hombres*, was responsible for the Castilian defeat at Alarcos is based on anecdotes which are also contained in other sources and most likely have similar origins to the narrative nuclei which Hijano Villegas identifies in relation to the minority of Alfonso VIII, in legends or anecdotes which were told at court (2014: 34). The part played by Diego López de Haro in the defeat at Alarcos appears in a letter sent by Alfonso X to his son Fernando de la Cerda in 1272. This portrayal of the disloyal nobleman appears to go against the image of Diego López de Haro as a model vassal which is contained in the *Crónica de Castilla*’s narrative relating to him, as discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis. The *Crónica de Alfonso X*, which contains the letter includes the following testimony:

Defendiose [Alfonso VIII] muy bien del Miramolín e vençiólo, que nunca de lo suyo pudo tomar cosa ninguna synon la villa de Alarcos quando la batalla fue vençida, más por culpa de los del rey que non por bondat de los moros, ca don Diego, su bisabuelo deste don Lope, que llaman “bueno”, fuyó con la senna a la villa de Alarcos seyendo el rey en la batalla, et después dio la villa a los moros con su mano syn mandado de su señor (González Jiménez 1998: 146-147).

Francisco Bautista (2014: 106) and Alvira Cabrer (2000: 372) note that this tale of Diego López de Haro's treachery is also contained within Juan Gil de Zamora's *De Praeciniis Hispanie*.<sup>71</sup> The Franciscan monk writes that 'domino Didaco de Biscaya, dicto Bono, non fuit imposita in hoc bello, ratione obsidum, quos dederat, repatus fuit similiter sicut fertur. Comitis de Castella non se habuerunt fideliter sicut fertur. Ratione cuius oportuit fugere ipsum regem' (*DPH* 330-331). This negative portrayal of Diego López de Haro may be a manipulation of the *Chronica latina*'s description of the Battle of Alarcos, which describes how Diego López was besieged in the castle of Alarcos but managed to escape and follow Alfonso VIII to Toledo (*CLRG* XIII; Martínez Díez 2007: 126). González argues that 'estaba en el castillo, sin duda protegiendo la retirada y conteniendo a los vencedores' (1960 I: 968).

However, the *Crónica de Castilla* offers a third reason for Alfonso VIII's defeat at Alarcos, recasting the blame once again at Alfonso VIII's feet:

el rey era muy mançebo, pero entendió muy bien que por el yerro que él feçiera contra Dios, segund que lo contó la Estoria, e que ge lo alaloñara, asý commo ge lo enbiara dezir con el ángel. E puso en su corazón de le servir a Dios de allý adelante, ca entendió el grand poder de Dios cómmo lo castigara tan crudamente (*CC* 279).

The *Crónica de Castilla*'s description of Alarcos is not the first instance when the Castilian defeat is blamed on Alfonso VIII's relationship with the Jewess of Toledo. The *Castigos de Sancho IV* also make reference to the liaison between the Jewess and Alfonso VIII in their narration of the battle: 'diole Dios grand llaga e grand majamiento en la batalla de Alarcos, en que fue vençido e fuxo, e fue mal andante el e dodos de su regno' (Rey 1952: 133). Arizaleta and Jean-Marie argue that the medieval chronicle texts which contain the episode of the Jewess describe Alfonso VIII's defeat at Alarcos as divine punishment for his amorous affair (2006: 8), while Bautista argues that the reference to the Jewess of Toledo was a way for the chronicler to exonerate the character of Diego López de Haro from guilt in the defeat at Alarcos (2014: 108). This is also almost certainly the reason for not following the narrative of the *Chronica latina*. By suppressing the involvement of Diego López de Haro throughout the episode, the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* is able to shift the blame for the Castilian defeat away from him. He also argues that the *Crónica de Castilla* appears to share the blame for the Castilian defeat between the King, on whom most of the blame falls, and the noblemen, by diminishing

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<sup>71</sup> On the works of Juan Gil de Zamora, see Ferrero Hernández (2010). I shall cite Castro y Castro's 1955 edition using the abbreviation *DPH*.

Diego López de Haro's responsibilities. Furthermore, if the *fijosdalgo* did not fight with loyalty in the battle, 'el propio rey, tras haber pasado siete años encerrado con la Judía de Toledo, tiene que expiar su pecado con la derrota ante los musulmanes' (ibid.). However, Nirenberg states that 'the *Crónica* blames Alfonso VIII's defeat at Alarcos on the factionalism and tepid loyalty of his vassals, but attributes that disloyalty to God's punishment of the King's youthful sin' (2007: 17). Furthermore, he argues that 'Alfonso's errant love must have been punished by baronial revolt [...] The King's vassals fail in their duty to fight for him against the Muslims [...] in other words, the king's Jewish affair fomented treason, and that treason brought about the kingdom's defeat at the hands of Islam' (2007: 23). Not only is the figure of Diego López de Haro spared the full blame for the defeat, the spiritual aspect of the *Crónica de Castilla* narrative returns, highlighting that Christianity is inherent to the Molinist ideology.

### **THE BATTLE OF LAS NAVAS DE TOLOSA (1212)**

On 19 May 1211, Muhammed Al-Nasir, Caliph of Cordoba from 1199 until 1213 and known in Spanish chronicles as Miramamolín, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar with a large army and captured the castle of Salvatierra, the headquarters of the military Order of Calatrava. This new threat, combined with the death of Alfonso VIII's heir presumptive, Fernando, who had taken part in several battles with the Almohads and who had died of a fever in Madrid (CC 280-281), led Alfonso VIII to call for a crusade. He sent Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Archbishop of Toledo, to Rome in order to seek a Papal summons to form a crusade. On 4 February 1212, Pope Innocent III called for a crusade to be held during the Octave of Pentecost. Soldiers from across the Iberian Peninsula and other European countries, including France and England, answered the call to crusade (see González 1960 I: 995-1002; Martínez Díez 2007: 151-155). The Christian armies assembled in Toledo before marching south.

The Battle of Las Navas is given a monumental place in the Latin texts of the thirteenth century. In particular, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada dedicates fourteen chapters of his *Historia gothica* to the battle: 'para Jiménez de Rada no hubo otro hecho que mericiera mayor y más detellado recuerdo que la batalla de Las Navas de Tolosa' (Alvira Cabrer 2000: 130). The *Crónica de Castilla* mostly follows the Archbishop's description of events but includes several episodes which are not found in previous historiographical works. These episodes containing Diego López de Haro as their protagonist, appear to be based on legendary or oral sources and are used as a way of counteracting the negative role he played in the defeat in 1195. Alvira Cabrer identifies three such episodes (2000: 371-378). These are: what I shall call the 'Diego

López dialogue', the heroic actions of Diego López in the battle; and the division of the spoils of war. However, in addition to these three episodes, the *Crónica de Castilla* also contains a legendary tale, the episode of the Shepherd de Las Navas which is included in the *De rebus Hispaniae* but the *Crónica* incorporate slight modifications to the discourse which greatly affect the portrayal of Diego López de Haro.

### THE EPISODE OF THE SHEPHERD OF LAS NAVAS

By 12 July 1212, the Christian army had marched from Toledo to the edge of the Sierra Morena, where only 20 kilometres separated them from the Almohads (Huici Miranda 1916: 196). The following day, Diego López de Haro, who commanded Alfonso VIII's vanguard, sent his son, Lope Díaz, and his nephews, Sancho Fernández and Martín Moñoz de Finojosa, to scout the passes which led through the mountains but they found that these had already been occupied by the enemy. In their description of the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the Latin texts of the thirteenth century include an episode in which, during a council of war in Alfonso VIII's tent attended by the Kings of Aragon and Navarre, the Archbishops of Toledo and Narbonne, and Diego López de Haro and other magnates, a shepherd appeared in the Christian camp who offered to guide the Christian armies through the dangerous mountains on a path which was not guarded by the Almohads (*ChM* IV; *CLRC* XXIII; *DRH* VIII. VIII). Alvira Cabrer offers thorough analysis of the episode and discusses its possible historicity (2000: 306-310). The veracity of the episode, though, is incidental: the significance of it is that it is included in three sources whose authors were contemporary to the event. Indeed, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada played an extremely significant role in the Battle of Las Navas and, according to his own chronicle, was present at the council of war when the shepherd appeared.

The Toledano states that Alfonso VIII sent two noblemen – Diego López de Haro and García Romero, an Aragonese magnate – to see if what the shepherd had said was true: 'duo principes processerunt, Didacus Lupi de Pharo et Garsias Romerii, ut si inuenirent esse uera que pastor dixerat' (*DRH* VIII.VIII). The *Crónica de Castilla*, though mainly a translation of the *Historia gothica*'s narrative, adds a significant detail to the character of Diego López de Haro: 'al cabo enbiaron con él dos ricos omnes bien guisados por saber si era asý commo dezía el pastor; e el vno fue Diego López, que leuaua el pendón del rey de Castilla, e el otro fue don Garçía Ramiro que leuaua el pendón del rey de Aragón' (*CC* 285). The flattery of Diego López de Haro by describing him as 'guisado' is combined with the more subtle detail that he carried the royal standard. The role of carrying the royal standard in medieval Castile was carried out

by the *alférez del rey* (González 1960 I: 243), who was also known as the *signifer* or standard-bearer (Barton 1997: 142-144; González 1960 I: 243 n. 361). However, at the time of Las Navas de Tolosa this was not Diego López de Haro, but rather Álvaro Núñez de Lara. Between the years 1183 and 1208, the office of *alférez del rey* passed between the Haro and Lara clans several times, due to the various periods of time when Don Diego was absent from the Castilian court. Diego López de Haro was *alférez* from 1183 until 1187 when he left Castile to join the Leonese court where, at that point, his sister Urraca was queen. He returned to Castile and carried out the duties of the office of *alférez* between 29 September 1188 and 6 May 1189, until he renounced the post. He exiled himself in 1201 due to the hostilities between Alfonso IX and Urraca caused by the conflict over the castles of Águilar and Monteagudo, as previously discussed (González 1960 I: 245). Álvaro Núñez de Lara replaced Diego López de Haro as *alférez* and assumed office from August 1199 to September 1201 (ibid.: Martínez Díez 2007: 218 and Sánchez de Mora 2003: 245). Between 1201 and 1206, the office of *alférez* was held by Don Álvaro's brother, Fernando, until Diego López de Haro and Alfonso VIII were reconciled that year and Diego López was again granted back his tenancies in Castile, in addition to the office of *alférez*. However, the title was again passed to Álvaro Núñez de Lara in 1208; Lara held this position of *alférez del rey* until 1217. Therefore, although Diego López de Haro had been Alfonso VIII's standard bearer at various points during his reign, during the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, the post was filled by Álvaro Núñez de Lara. The description contained in the *Crónica de Castilla* is therefore historically incorrect.

It is impossible that the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* did not know that Diego López de Haro was not the *alférez* to Alfonso VIII in 1212. In fact, Álvaro López is described two chapters previously as holding this office: 'e yva el rey don Alfonso en la postrimera az, eyva con él el arçobispo de Toledo e don Áluar Núñez de Lara, su alferçe, que lleuava la su seña, e ganó aquel día buen prez con ella' (CC 286). This description is based on the *Chronica latina regum Castellae*'s narrative, which describes how Álvaro Núñez de Lara was granted the tenancies of Castroverde for his brave actions in the Battle of Las Navas (Barton 1997: 142: 217). González Mínguez (2007: 169) demonstrates that the *Crónica de veinte reyes* also includes a description of Álvaro Núñez de Lara as the *alférez del rey*, and that it does not describe Diego López de Haro as such in the episode of the shepherd of Las Navas. This further disproves the ignorance of the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* to this detail, given the textual relationships between these two works (see Fernández Ordóñez 2002 and Montaner 2005: 1191). This implies that the depiction of Diego López de Haro carrying the royal standard was

a deliberate innovation of the chronicler who, as Bautista argues, has an exceptional interest in the figure of Diego López (2014: 108-110). The motive for this modification corresponds to the theory that the *Crónica de Castilla* aims to vindicate Diego López de Haro for the part he played in the defeat at Alarcos by depicting him as being so honoured by the King that he holds the second highest office in the Kingdom. It also allows Diego López' portrayal to remain consistent with that of a model vassal, whose principal function is to serve his king and it enables the *Crónica de Castilla* to diffuse the Molinist ideal of the relationship between monarch and nobleman which Rochwert-Zuili argues is prevalent throughout the *Crónica de Castilla* (2010: 37). Furthermore, attaching this detail to Diego López de Haro as well as Álvaro Núñez de Lara in the text would also have been a way for the chronicler to demonstrate his ambivalence to Álvaro Núñez' descendant, Juan Núñez de Lara, who conspired with the Infantes de la Cerda and the Infante Juan against María de Molina during the early years of her regency.

## THE DIEGO LÓPEZ DIALOGUE

The chapter which immediately follows the episode of the Shepherd of Las Navas contains a well-known textual innovation in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s depiction of the Battle. It constitutes a dialogue between Diego López de Haro and his son, Lope Díaz. The text narrates that:

Diz que se le paró delante su fijo Lope Díaz, e dixo:

- Don Diego, pídvos por merçed, commo a padre e a señor, que pues el rey vos dio la delantera, que en guysa fagades commo non me llamen fijo de traydor. E miénbrevos el buen prez que perdistes en la de Alarcos e por Dios queredlo ý cobrar, ca y en este día podees fazer emienda a Dios, sy en algún yerro le caystes.

E entonce don Diego boluióse contra él muy sañudo e díxole:

- Lllamarvos han fí de puta, mas non fí de traydor!, que en tal guisa obraré yo, fío en la merçed de Dios. Mas yo veré en quál guisa guardaredes padre e seños en este logar (CC 285).

The conversation between the magnate and his son is used in the *Crónica de Castilla* as a way of showing the valour and military virtues of Diego López de Haro (Bautista 2014: 103). The reference to the supposed adultery of María Manrique, the wife of Diego López, alludes to an episode contained in the *Livro de linagens* (Titles VIII and IX), a text which was written during the mid-1300s by Pedro de Barcelos, the author of the *Crónica de 1344* (see González 1960 I:

47 n. 64). Bautista argues that in this dialogue the actions of Diego López de Haro and the other *ricos hombres* at the Battle of Alarcos are redeemed because the portrayal of Diego López as a nobleman who is unwilling to fight for his king and who is therefore a traitor is denounced in this exchange (2014: 103). Indeed, that Diego López de Haro would rather it was known that his wife had engaged in extra-marital affairs demonstrates the emphasis which the chronicler places on the qualities of loyalty and service in the figure of Diego López. Once more, the figure of Diego López de Haro offers his response to conflicted loyalties. Just as in the exchange between him and Urraca López, Diego López demonstrates his loyalty to the King before his family.

Bautista further argues that the focus on the redemption of Diego López de Haro is religious, rather than pertaining to the relationship between king and vassal (2014: 103). The use of Lope Díaz's wish that his father should make amends with God alludes to a religiosity which the chronicler aims to instil in the reader. This spiritual dimension of the text is a characteristic which Rochwert-Zuili argues applies to all Molinist texts (2010: 37; 2012 57-60) and which further counterproves Diego Catalán's assertion that the *Crónica de Castilla* represents the furthest shift away from the ecclesiastical hierarchies in post-Alfonsine history writing (2000: 76).

### **THE HEROIC ACTIONS OF DIEGO LÓPEZ DE HARO DURING THE BATTLE**

In the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of the fighting during the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, Diego López de Haro stands out as a heroic protagonist. The text describes how during the first phases of the campaign, Diego López, who commanded the Christian army's vanguard, entered the field of battle:

E como él fue mucho esforçado e mucho atrevido, quebrantó las azes todas de los moros e pasó por ellas de la otra parte del corral, e fincó allí con pocas de sus conpañas dando golpes e feriendo; e el polvo era tamaño que los suyos non lo podías deuisar para lo guardar, e avn aguardaua Sancho Ferranz la seña de Madrid, cuidando que era el pendón de don Diego. E don Diego estaua en muy grand priessa, ca non tenía consigo más de quarenta cavalleros, pero por priessa que le dieron, nunca le podieron arrancar de aquel logar, ante le costaua muy caro al que se le allegaua (CC 287).

The brave action of Diego López de Haro and the fight he puts up with only forty other knights further develops his depiction throughout the *Crónica de Castilla* as an exemplar member of

the nobility, and who demonstrates the Alfonsine value of *fortaleza*. Barton states that 'in a society where warfare was endemic, the role of the warrior was exalted and prowess in battle conferred prestige and privilege upon wealthy magnate and impoverished knight alike' (1997: 148) and the prestige won by Diego López de Haro in this episode would have been more than enough to redeem him for his lack of heroic action at the Battle of Alarcos.

The narrative describing Diego López de Haro's action in the battle is followed immediately by a description of García Romeu de la Puente's actions:

Otrosý don García Romero, que tenía la delantera del rey de Aragón, ferió en los moros e quebrantó las azes. E fueron llegando las costaneras e fezieron esso mesmo. E desý llegó el rey de Aragón, e de tal guisa los quebrantó que bien entendieron que rey era, e por onde él passaua, semejava fuego biuo que los quemava a ellos latierra. E el poluo era tan grande que subía sobre las sierras, e tornaua toda la tierra en poluo, e era atán grande sobía sobre las sierras e tornaua todo el ayre (CC 287).

The strikingly similar depiction of Diego López de Haro and García Romeu, appears to directly compare the two magnates, and shows that they have similar traits in the eyes of the chronicler. This would further lead the reader to believe that Diego López de Haro held the office of *alférez*, which contributes to the celebratory portrayal of the Castilian magnate in the text. This is the second time that the two noblemen appear together in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative so the reader will associate one with the other, and assimilate the characteristics of García Romeu with Diego López de Haro.

Perhaps the most significant part of this chapter of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative is that, in the critical moment of the battle, when the Moors launched a counter offensive and the Christian troops seemed overwhelmed, some of them turned and fled:

fueron esforçando los moros e quedando que yuan ya vençidos. E con el su esfuerço que les dio, començaron de lidiar e de ferir tan de rezio que fezieron a los christianos estar en sí, e algunos ý ovo como vençidos. E lleuauan las señas arrastrando, pero non de los nobles omes (CC 287).

The focal point of this chapter is the symbol of power pertaining to each protagonist – their standards, which demonstrate the old lineage of Diego López de Haro and the more modern authority of the *concejo*. At first, Diego López de Haro's standard, carried by Pedro Arias (CC 286), is confused with that of the town of Madrid but by the end of the chapter, there would be no confusing the two any longer. The standards of the 'nobles omes' remained steadfast,



because the noblemen to whom they belonged did not flee from the heat of battle. Meanwhile, the banners of the *caballeros urbanos* and those of the towns were dragged through the dust on the ground, a visible symbol of a lack of courage and loyalty. There can be no mistaking the clear reference to the Battle of Alarcos in this episode. The *Crónica de Castilla* rebukes the previous assertion by Alfonso VIII that the knights of the towns of Extremadura were as reliable in battle as the *fijosdalgos*, who had long been considered the professional class of warriors in society, since he fled from the enemy in the decisive Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. In this episode, Alvira Cabrer argues that the chronicler exalts Diego López de Haro, and by extension the other members of the upper nobility, in his narration (2000: 375) and exemplifies the loyalty expected of them by María de Molina during the fractious years of her regency.

The *Crónica de Castilla* continues to describe Alfonso VIII's reaction to the flight of the troops made up from the *concejos*, a section of the narrative which has not yet been commented on by scholars:<sup>72</sup>

Et quando el muy noble rey don Alfonso esto vïo, dixo a don Rodrigo, arçobispo de Toledo:

-Ruégovos, amigo, que aquí moramos yo e vós.

E desý cogió vna lança en la mano e ývalos feriendo e denostándoles, e deziendo que tornasen e non fuyesen commo malos, que mejor les era onrrada muerte que mala vida afrontada para siempre. Entoçe fízoles tornar mal de su grado. E estando en esto, enbióle dezir don Diego al rey que fuese tomar la onrra que Dios le quería dar, ca la batalla serýa vençida solamente que él llegasse (CC 287-288).

The ruthless reaction of Alfonso VIII puts an end to the debate over whether the upper nobility or the representatives of the *caballeria urbana* were the most loyal to the King and which group Alfonso VIII prized more greatly. His contempt for the fleeing troops shows that, despite the loyalty of the *concejos* at Alarcos, their betrayal of him at Las Navas was a far greater transgression than Diego López de Haro's refusal to fight in 1195. Furthermore, it proves the attestation that the author of the *Crónica de Castilla* does not truly blame Diego López de Haro for the military defeat at Alarcos, otherwise he would have received the same brutal punishment then as the knights from the *concejos* did at Las Navas. The cowardice of the *concejos* should also be seen in the context of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s spiritual ideology. Not only did the members of the lower nobility fail in their duties to Alfonso VIII, but they also fail in their service to God, as the Battle was considered by all to be a crusade.

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<sup>72</sup> I am grateful to Manolo Hijano for pointing out to me this section of narrative in *Crónica de Castilla*'s its useful role of developing in the depiction of the conflict between the upper and lower nobility.

Alfonso VIII's reaction demonstrates that the union between king and vassal which is prevalent in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s depiction of the reign of Alfonso VIII is indissoluble. Indeed, Don Diego's statement that the battle would only be won if he were at the King's side illustrates how María de Molina and Fernando IV needed the support of the magnates of the kingdom more than that of the *concejos*, which is evidenced by the amount of power the nobility had gained as *beneficium* during the minority of Fernando IV (see González Mínguez 1977: 172).

## THE DIVISION OF THE SPOILS OF WAR

The final episode from the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of the Battle of Las Navas to include Diego López de Haro comes after the battle is won, when Alfonso VIII gives the honour of dividing the booty, which the Christian armies had obtained to him. Diego López advises the king to divide the bounty in such a way that all the material goods which had been left on the battlefield which had been gathered by Alfonso VIII's men, as well as that collected by Diego López and the other *fijosdalgos*, should be given to the Kings of Navarre and Aragon. Furthermore, he advised that the King of Castile should retain the honour of the victory: 'sy las otras gentes algo ouieron ende, que se preste cada vno de lo que ganó, ca non sería guisado lo ál' (CC 289). The *Crónica de Castilla* goes on to describe the reactions of the Kings of Leon and Aragon to Diego López de Haro's division of the booty, explaining that 'otrosý el rey de Aragón, e otrosý el rey de Nauarra touieron que don Diego sopiera guardar la onrra de su señor muy bien e que diera a ellos muy grant algo' (CC 289). Alvira Cabrer describes Alfonso VIII's gesture of offering Diego López de Haro the task of dividing the spoils as a reward (*beneficium*) for his heroic behaviour during the battle (*auxilium*) (2000: 375), which completes the construction of the image of Diego López as a model vassal. However, the decision which the nobleman made in dividing the spoils of war creates a more complex depiction of the magnate. Despite the seeming pre-eminence which the *Crónica de Castilla* gives to the feudal bonds which link Diego López de Haro and Alfonso VIII in this episode, the concept of *naturaleza* is also emphasised and, indeed, prioritised by his refusal to accept any of the booty for himself, even though he explains that he had already collected some of it: 'todo el algo que nós avemos'. This episode is a clear parallel to the words of Diego López's father, Lope Díaz following the siege of Zorita, when he too refuses to keep any of the spoils of war: 'E yo, señor, para el vuestro seruicio non deuo ser llamado, ca el derecho llama a todo leal vasallo quando su señor lo ha mester para su seruicio. E yo, señor,

non vine acá por leuar pecho de uós mas por guardar mi derecho' (CC 270). It creates a conclusion to the protagonism of the nobility during the reign of Alfonso VIII of Castile, when the relationship between King and magnate was in a state of balance and the natural loyalty which Diego López de Haro felt would be rewarded by Alfonso VIII, if not for the concept of *naturaleza* taking precedence over the bonds of feudal vassalage.

## CONCLUSIONS: FORMING A COMPLETE NARRATIVE

The *Crónica de Castilla*'s depiction of the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa concludes the narrative thread which relates to Diego López de Haro. The depiction of Diego López in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa appears to contradict the image of his figure in the interpolations discussed in chapter two of this thesis. At Alarcos, he is presented as disloyal to Alfonso VIII by refusing to fight. The apparent omission of further details which are contained in other sources, however, demonstrates that the chronicler sought to portray the figure of Diego López de Haro in as good a light as possible. Indeed, Bautista argues that he is presented 'como defensor de una conciencia de la superioridad de la aristocracia' (2014: 105) which goes against the *Crónica de Castilla*'s depiction of the good men of the *concejos* who fight loyally in the Battle of Alarcos. At Las Navas de Tolosa, however, Diego López becomes the hero of the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative, bravely fighting while the banners of the *concejos* drag along the ground as the *caballería urbana* flees. Moreover, Diego López de Haro's redemption is confirmed when Alfonso VIII awards him with the task of dividing the booty. The Battles of Alarcos and Las Navas de Tolosa also form part of the same U-shaped structure as the episode of the legend of the Jewess of Toledo and the foundation of Las Huelgas and the royal descendants. By portraying Alarcos as the lowest part of the narrative and the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa as the climactic victory, the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narrative represents the Kingdom of Castile's symbolic loss and redemption, which is based around the behaviour of the King and his nobility.

## CONCLUSION

The portrayal of the reign of Alfonso VIII in the *Crónica de Castilla* represents a narrative change from the historiographical works of the thirteenth century on which much of its narrative is based. The pieces of textual innovation which the *Crónica de Castilla* includes are mainly based on oral sources (Hijano Villegas 2014: 36), as is common with other post-Alfonsine texts, including the \**Crónica manuelina* and the *Crónica geral de 1344*, which were both written between 20 and 40 years later. This new narrative, much of which is original to the *Crónica de Castilla*, and the chronicler's manipulation of the discourse found in its hipotexts are the result of a Molinist ideology. Although Gómez Redondo argues that Molinism has nine characteristics (2012: 78-81), the focus of this thesis has been the three tropes which Rochwert-Zuili argues are the most significant in portraying a Molinist ideology: the creation of an ideal union between the monarchy and the nobility, which consists of a new relationship based on service, distinct from Alfonsine concepts of *naturaleza*; the affirmation of a spiritual dimension of royalty; and a sense of Castilianity, which constructs the identity of royalty based on a shared lineage (2010: 73). The spirituality of the monarchy, which is mainly the realm of women, is intrinsically linked to the creation of a shared dynastic lineage in the *Crónica de Castilla*. The text's portrayal of Queen Leonor and other queens, such as Berenguela and Sancha combine to form an image which María de Molina sought to diffuse of herself. These important Molinist characteristics are presented in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s depiction of Alfonso VIII's reign and all combine to create an image of the idealised Castilian society which María de Molina, and her son Ferdinand IV, sought to rule. They wanted to rule a society where the relationship between king and nobleman was harmonious and aimed to disseminate this ideal through the use of *exemplos* and *castigos*, small episodes which offer a moral or lesson to the reader.

## THE UNION BETWEEN THE MONARCHY AND THE NOBILITY

The *Crónica de Castilla*'s depiction of the new relationship which María de Molina sought to construct with the nobility is demonstrated throughout the reign of Alfonso VIII. It is introduced during the narrative of the young King's minority and is mainly demonstrated by the portrayal of the behaviour of members of the nobility. A focus on the concept of *naturaleza*, which governed Alfonsine political and historical writings (Martin 2004), is present in the *Crónica de Castilla* but is often conflicted with the concept of the feudal bonds, which is found in Manueline texts, written around 20 years after the *Crónica de Castilla*. The text often demonstrates a conflict between these two concepts and the characters of the narrative must decide which is more important. In all cases, the concept of *naturaleza* takes precedence over feudal relationships between king and nobleman. This can be seen in the Sorians' rescue of the young Alfonso VIII and the way in which Manrique de Lara's name is cleared of being a traitor because he was protecting his *señor natural*. Additionally, Dominguillo loyally aids Alfonso VIII during the Siege of Zorita and Lope Díaz de Haro refuses the *beneficium* which the king offers to him following the siege. Furthermore, the stories relating to Diego López de Haro also demonstrate how the nobleman, considered by the chronicle to be a model vassal (see Bautista 2014), also places *naturaleza* over the feudal bonds. This narrative also introduces a hierarchy to the concept of loyalty, which places the King above family and the bonds of feudal vassalage. Rather than support his sister's wish for her son to be crowned King in the question of the Leonese succession on the death of Ferdinand IV, he recognises that Alfonso IX is the rightful heir and gives him the royal standard, the symbol of the king's authority. Additionally, the omission of the depiction of the Siege of Estella in the *Crónica de Castilla* and Diego López de Haro's reluctance to fight the King of Aragon are also examples of how he prioritises the bonds of *naturaleza* which link him to the Christian kings, all of whom were descendants of Alfonso VII *el Emperador*, over the feudal ties which tie him to the Moors. The final section of the Diego López de Haro interpolation also demonstrates the magnate's loyalty towards Alfonso IX, when he refuses to accept the castle of Aguilar from Marcos Gutiérrez, instead insisting that it be presented to the King. Finally, in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, Diego López de Haro's brave protagonism in the fighting is rewarded by Alfonso VIII who offers offer for him to share out the spoils of war. Yet, rather than taking any of the booty for himself, Diego López insists that the Kings of Navarre and Aragon should take the riches but that the

honour of winning the battle should go to Alfonso VIII. This further shows the high regard with which he holds the bond of *naturaleza* to the king.

In addition to the importance which the *Crónica de Castilla* places on the concept of *naturaleza* between Alfonso VIII and his vassal, it also demonstrates the qualities which the ideal nobleman should possess. In particular the Alfonsine virtues contained in the *Segunda Partida* (SP II XXI.IV) are extolled in the *Crónica de Castilla*. In the Battle of Húete, Manrique is criticised for not possessing the quality of *mesura*. *Fortaleza* is also highly praised, particularly during the *Crónica de Castilla*'s description of how Diego López de Haro fought so bravely in the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. In contrast, the cowardice shown by Fernando Rodríguez de Castro at the Battle of Húete is condemned by the text. The value of *justicia* is also given in the *Crónica de Castilla*, yet it is more often shown in reverse by noblemen who do not possess this quality. The trickery of the Lara brothers towards Gutierre Fernández de Castro, Fernando Rodrigo's trick of swapping armour during the Battle of Húete and the devious way in which Nuño Pérez de Lara incarceration immediately after the battle all demonstrate the unchivalrous behaviour which the Molinist author of the text seeks to discourage. The negative portrayal of the Lara clan in particular appears to rebuke members of María de Molina's nobility connected to the Juan Núñez de Lara, who had rebelled against her regency and supported Alfonso de la Cerda and the Infante Juan, in order to dissuade them from repeating such unchivalrous behaviour. This series of *exemplos* of knightly behaviour contribute to the creation of the ideal union between king and vassal, and demonstrates how the nobility can help to achieve it by adopting the qualities which the *Crónica de Castilla* advocates.

The *Crónica de Castilla*'s portrayal of kings, and the virtues which they possess, is also significant in portraying this ideal relationship between the two estates. In addition to the behaviour of the nobility, the successful union between king and vassal depends on the behaviour of the king. The first aspect of kingship which the *Crónica de Castilla* highlights is the need to seek advice in order to make decisions. This is exemplified when Alfonso VIII follows Nuño Pérez de Lara's advice that he should reward Lope Díaz de Haro for the part he played in the Siege of Zorita and when he builds the Abbey of Las Huelgas on the 'consejo de dona Leonor, su mugier' (CC 279). The importance placed concept of *mesura* is demonstrated by the defeat at Alarcos being blamed, in part, on Alfonso VIII's eagerness to enter into combat before his reinforcements arrived and his rewarding of both Lope Díaz and Diego López de Haro for the services they performed for him. Additionally, Alfonso IX of Leon's eagerness to

believe the noblemen who had badly advised him to marry Berenguela can be seen as his *desmesura*. The quality of *justicia* is demonstrated by Alfonso VIII's willingness to reward both Lope Díaz and Diego López de Haro following the service they showed to him, despite their refusal to accept any *beneficium*.

The ideal union between the King and his nobility, therefore, consists of noblemen who possess the qualities of *mesura*, *justicia* and *fortaleza* and who prioritise a sense of natural loyalty to their king over any expectation of feudal reward. The king, on the other hand, must also possess these qualities and be able to follow the good advice of his noblemen. Although the nobility prioritises *naturaleza*, the king must be prepared to offer *beneficium* to his vassals, for their *auxilium* and *consilium*. This mixture of Alfonsine *naturaleza* and the feudal bonds of vassalage, which are prized by Don Juan Manuel, demonstrates that the *Crónica de Castilla* is a text in transition, and that the relationship between king and vassal was particular to its context of composition, when the stability of Castile's fragile political situation required skilful persuasion on the part of María de Molina.

### **THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE UPPER NOBILITY AND THE CONCEJOS**

Throughout the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of the reign of Alfonso VIII, there is a conflict caused by the relationships between the King and the nobility, and the relationship between the King and the *concejos*. This reflects María de Molina's need to secure the support of both groups during her regency (see González Mínguez 2000). Episodes in the *Crónica de Castilla* which reflect the new relationship which María de Molina had built with the *caballeria urbana* include the loyalty of the Sorians during Alfonso VIII's minority, the inclusion of the *concejos* in the Assembly of Burgos in 1188, and the loyalty which the lower nobility showed during the Battle of Alarcos after the *nobleza de sangre* refused to fight.

However, the *Crónica de Castilla* always portrays the upper nobility with the most respect, in order to secure their support. Even after the Sorians saved Alfonso VIII from having to submit to Ferdinand II of Leon in an act of vassalage, Manrique de Lara is vindicated and praised for his loyalty towards his natural lord, which is highlighted by the words of Fernando Rodríguez de Castro who, despite being Manrique's sworn enemy, extols his virtues of loyalty. Additionally, although the chronicler partly blames Diego López de Haro's actions for the Castilian defeat at Alarcos, the *Crónica de Castilla* places greater emphasis on the transgressions of Alfonso VIII (his *desmesura* in wanting to engage the enemy too quickly and the episode of the Jewess of Toledo) as being the main causes of defeat. Furthermore, Diego

López de Haro is forgiven for his failure to fight at Alarcos when he fights so bravely at Las Navas de Tolosa and the forces made up of members of the *concejos* turn and flee, dragging their banners along the ground. It is clear that in this final culmination of the conflict between the upper and lower nobility, it is the magnates of the Kingdom who are portrayed as the most loyal vassals to Alfonso VIII. María de Molina ultimately sought to flatter whichever social group could be of most use to her programme of legitimisation and, invariably, the *Crónica de Castilla* shows that this was the nobility.

### **FEMININE SPIRITUALITY AND DYNASTIC LEGITIMACY**

Despite Diego Catalan's argument that the *Crónica de Castilla* marks a distancing from the religious hierarchies of the church (2000: 76), throughout the description of the reign of Alfonso VIII there are explicit references to the Church, especially in relation to the monarchy. Gómez Redondo argues that a characteristic of Molinist texts is their affinity with the orthodoxy of the See of Toledo, where Archbishop Gonzalo Pérez Gudiel was one of the strongest allies of Sancho IV and María de Molina's (2012: 55-58). The inclusion of the Prelates at the Assembly of Burgos in 1188 reflects their support of María de Molina at the *Cortes* of Valladolid in 1295. The religious motifs of the angel who appears to Alfonso VIII in a dream during the episode of the legend of the Jewess of Toledo, as well as the inclusion of the episode of the Shepherd of Las Navas, also demonstrates the text's affinity with the Christian Church.

The spirituality of the monarchy, which Rochwert-Zuili believes to be intrinsically related to female rulers (2010: 37), is present in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s portrayal of Leonor Plantagenet, particularly in its description of her role in the foundation of the Abbey of Las Huelgas and the description of the royal descendance. Much of the Molinist ideology of the *Crónica de Castilla* relates to the programme of legitimisation which María de Molina carried out during her regency to assert her authority and put an end to the pretensions to the throne by the Infantes de la Cerda and the Infante Juan. By elaborating on the virtues possessed by Leonor, who had become idolised as a figure of queenly goodness, María de Molina aligns herself with this model of queenship. Similarly, she aims to portray herself in the same vein as other queens discussed in the *Crónica de Castilla* (see Rochwert-Zuili 2006). The parallels which the *Crónica de Castilla* creates between these past queens and the present Queen Regent show María de Molina and Ferdinand IV as the rightful successors to the Castilian crown because of this lineage.



The socio-political functions of queens are also portrayed in the *Crónica de Castilla*, notably in Leonor's advice to Alfonso VIII to construct the Abbey of Las Huelgas. A similar episode is included in the *Crónica de Castilla*'s narration of Queen Sancha of Aragon and her role in the Treaty of Alfaro. The successful interventions of both queens led to religious and political stability in the years to follow, and eventually culminated in the Christian victory at the Battle of Las Navas. The foundation of Las Huelgas and Queen Leonor's providing the kingdom with an heir, as well as other children who would go on to marry the crown heads of Europe, are portrayed as steps on Alfonso VIII's journey for repentance for his affair with the Jewess of Toledo and allow the Kingdom to recover from the defeat at Alarcos, while the Treaty of Alfaro, which resulted in an alliance between the Kings of Christian Iberia contributed to the coming together of the Castilian, Aragonese and Navarrese armies for the first time in history during the Battle of Las Navas de Tolosa. The portrayal of queens as good counsellors was one with which María de Molina sought to identify herself, especially when her tutorship of Ferdinand IV was challenged by the Infante Enrique.

## **NARRATIVE STRUCTURES**

The narrative of the *Crónica de Castilla* can be represented as a U-shaped pattern, which Frye originally used for emplotting bible stories (1982). Frye argues that the plot begins with a state of equilibrium which is disrupted by disequilibrium in the form of some sort of disaster. At the lowest point of the U, the circumstances are reversed by divine deliverance, an awakening of the protagonist or by a fortunate twist which results in an upward turn of the narrative (Resseguie 2005: 205). Arizaleta and Jean-Marie (2006) relate this narrative structure to a plot of fall and redemption whereby sin, punishment, penitence and redemption are structural references. They argue that for chronicle texts which contain the legend of the Jewess of Toledo, Alfonso VIII's sin is his affair with her, his punishment is military defeat at Alarcos his and redemption comes with the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa. However, rather than just focussing on the figure of the King, this narrative structure of the *Crónica de Castilla* can also be emplotted onto the relationship between Alfonso VIII and his nobility.

The state of equilibrium which begins this structural narrative is the combined episode of the *Cortes* of Burgos and the marriage of Alfonso VIII and Queen Leonor in 1188, a time when, after the turbulent period of Alfonso VIII's minority had come to an end, the King, nobility, *concejos* and ecclesiastics came together. The fall follows immediately, when Alfonso VIII enters into an amorous affair with the Jewess of Toledo and the Kingdom descends into

turmoil once more. The loyal *fijosdalgos* who murder the Jewess attempt to ‘awaken’ the King. The lowest point in the structure is the Battle of Alarcos, which is lost by the Castilian forces due to a combination of the King’s *desmesura*, the unwillingness of the *fijosdalgo* to fight because the offence caused to them by the King, and Alfonso VIII’s divine punishment for his affair. The building of the Abbey of Las Huelgas is a step on his journey to redeem himself in the narrative and states that he is now enjoying a good relationship with his queen (see *SP II* VI.I), inferring that the natural order of the kingdom had been restored. Finally, the great victory at Las Navas de Tolosa completes the narrative when the relationships between Alfonso VIII and God, the Queen and the *fijosdalgos*, notably Diego López de Haro, have been restored to equilibrium.

Although there is not yet any concrete evidence which reveals the origin and ideology of the *Crónica de Castilla*, this study has built upon the post-Alfonsine scholarship of the past half century and has demonstrated that in the text’s narration of the reign of Alfonso VIII, there are strong indications that it was composed at the behest of María de Molina or, at the very least, a member of her entourage. The model relationship between the king and the nobility and the literary figure of the queens which the *Crónica de Castilla* portrays are products of the Molinist ideology. Moreover, the text’s narrative represents a shift between Alfonsine and Manueline chivalric thinking, which begins to incorporate the concept of a feudal exchange but still prioritises *naturaleza* illustrates the success of María de Molina’s careful negotiation with the nobility in order to maintain their support, through the manipulation of existing narrative and the incorporation of original discourse.

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